Periodical

MAY, 1935

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Volume 42, No. 5 *Whole No. 293*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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THE COVER

Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson, 34, an agricultural expert and a member of the faculty for seven years, was elected president of Tuskegee Institute April 7 to succeed Dr. R. R. Moton. Dr. Patterson is a native of Washington, D. C., and a graduate of Prairie View College in Texas and Iowa State College. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University. He will begin his duties next fall.

NEXT MONTH

Ward H. Rodgers, who was jailed in Arkansas for organizing colored and white tenant farmers, writes about the new tenant farmers union in the June issue.

●

Frank R. Crosswaith will have an article on Negro workers and union labor.

●

Dean William Pickens, who visited Haiti in January, contributes an estimate of the Haitian situation.

●

Mercer Cook writes from Paris on the reception of the film "Imitation of Life" in the French capital.

●

Thyra J. Edwards will have a rebuttal on the article "Thumbs Down on Unions" dealing with company unionism and Negro women garment workers in Chicago.

●

THE CRISIS invites readers to submit photographs of beautiful homes (exterior views) for the July issue. Deadline for photographs June 1. Pictures of graduates and other school information for the annual education number must be in THE CRISIS July 1.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Oscar C. Brown is a lawyer in Chicago, president of the Howard University alumni in Chicago and secretary of the National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State.

●

James S. Allen is a pamphlet writer for the Communist party who has devoted much study to the party program among colored people.

●

George S. Schuyler is a well-known columnist and contributor to the magazines.

●

George Padmore lives in Paris and was formerly the editor of "The Black Worker".

●

Daisy E. Lampkin is regional field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

●

John P. Davis is executive secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery in Washington.

ERROR

THE CRISIS regrets that Miss Thyra J. Edwards was designated as a director of the Abraham Lincoln Centre in Chicago. She is merely a resident of the Centre.

Which Way Out

What Chance Freedom!

By Oscar C. Brown

OSCAR C. BROWN

THE Negro in the United States is already in a "49th State," or certainly in a state different from that in which other American citizens live. The small number of Negroes who enjoy equal opportunities and benefits of American citizenship are but the exception that makes the rule. To over-emphasize these isolated instances, and to deny the existence of the ever tightening shackles that bind the masses of Negroes in this country is a form of self-deception that tends to blind us to any new approach toward a larger emancipation for the majority of our folk.

Very few white people have ever seriously considered the Negro as entitled to complete citizenship and equality. Had not the slave labor in the South threatened to enslave the free labor of the nation and destroy the equilibrium of the industrial North, slavery would have remained an established institution for a long time. "To save the nation," the slave had to be freed, and he was. But, in a few years, the "moral passion" of the nation receded. The Negro was face to face with competition from four and one-half millions of "poor whites" of the South, who had not theretofore been considered a part of the South's economy. Soon, the northern troops returned home, leaving the freed Negro in destitution and ignorance, in the midst of his former over-lords and new competitors, whose hostility and bitterness were merciless. As far as the Negro was concerned, the South never accepted the verdict of Appomattox. During the march of time, the South has come North; the winter playground of the nation has moved South; intersectional marriages, investments seeking profit, intercourse in amusements, sports, education, religion and the spread of lily-white labor unionism have destroyed the Mason-Dixon line; the North and South see "eye to eye." This is where the Negro in the United States finds himself today.

Negroes Must Move

There are millions of Negroes in this country whose condition cannot be materially helped so long as they are left in their present localities. A community that will take its women and babies to see a Negro tortured, maimed, mutilated and burned, without any semblance of a legal trial by the courts the community itself created and controls; or that will lynch a Negro in his jail cell after the highest court of the state says he is not guilty; or that will burn down its own court house because it is prevented from taking a Negro from his trial to lynch him; or that will permit state lines to be ignored and transgressed so long as it is for the purpose of murdering a black man; yes, in all such communities, and there are thousands of them, there is not the remotest possibility that the Negroes residing there will, in a thousand years, get humane treatment at the hands of their mutilators. Communities that participate in or sanction these extremes cannot be expected to be fair or sympathetic to the Negro in the simple activities of life, such as education, housing, health, employment, farm operation, measures of social security and the like.

The treatment today of the Negro in the United States is not confined to any particular section; it represents the attitude of his country toward him. In the Capitol building of the nation, only a black man cannot stop in and buy a sandwich or a cup of coffee. You, a Negro, may be a doctor of philosophy from Fair Harvard, or a minister truly consecrated to the teachings of Jesus Christ, or a hero maimed in the war to "save the world for democracy," or the mother of a veteran sleeping in Flanders Field; or, be you what you will or may, if you be a Negro, you are excluded from the restaurant in the Capitol of the United States. This example, projecting from the "fountain head of American liberty," permeates the very existence of the nation, and sustains a hostile attitude throughout the country that is more powerful than constitutional provisions and legislative enactments.

(*Continued on page* 137)

The Communist

By James

THE question which, it appears to me, is fundamental to our discussion and which I will attempt to answer in this article is the following: are the Negroes in the United States an *oppressed nation*, and, if they are, can the policy of Communism on the national question, including the right of self-determination, be applied to the American Negroes?

If reduced to their essentials, the usual conceptions of the nature of the Negro question, whether of a conservative or radical tinge, amount to setting up race prejudice as the very essence of the problem. That deep prejudice exists and has itself become one of the integral aspects of the Negro question as it affects both whites and Negroes I do not wish to deny. But any scientific analysis must start from more fundamental premises. Before explaining the Communist program, it is necessary to recapitulate the basic economic and social factors which have determined the present situation of the American Negroes.

Slave Plantations Continue

The economic survivals of chattel slavery in the South provide the foundation for the present oppression of the Negroes in the United States. These survivals are to be found in the plantation system, which is not a mere shadow of the old slave plantation, but a direct continuation of it, utilizing semi-slave forms of labor such as sharecropping. Besides directly enslaving hundreds of thousands of Negro farm families, the plantation is the generating center of semi-slavery which has come to affect the poor white farmers as well and has penetrated into southern industry. The semi-feudal nature of the plantation economy is revealed most clearly by the fact that the Black Belt—the area in which the Negroes form the majority of the population—has remained practically intact since Emanicipation. There are today 5,000,000 Negroes in the area of the old slave plantations and 3,000,000 live in its immediate environs. The Black Belt is, in fact, akin to a huge prison farm where the mass of Negro farmers are virtually bound to the soil. The old slave codes have been replaced by the vagrancy laws, crop lien, strict punishment for breaking contract, etc.,

For The Negro?

Way Out

S. Allen

which operate with equal effectiveness in assuring forced labor to the planter.

The plantation has determined the very course of economic development in the South. Industry came—but not to the Black Belt and not for the Negro. The textile industry, by far the largest in the South, is for the most part located in regions bordering on the plantation country and its doors have been barred to the Negro, as if by pre-arrangement with the plantation master. Industry, with the exception of the Birmingham area, has drawn its main labor supply from the white peasantry.

Not until 1916, when other sources of labor were closed by the World War, did capitalists make a concerted drive to tap the labor supply in the southern Black Belt. Over the opposition of the planters, an exodus was initiated which eventually brought about 1,000,000 Negroes into the North—and into modern industry. While the migration had little effect upon the plantation economy, it resulted in certain significant and progressive changes. For the first time on a large scale a Negro industrial working class was formed, creating a broader basis for solidarity between white and black labor, despite the fact that the first stages in this process were accompanied by dissension and strife. With the growth of the Negro working class and the Negro urban population, the field of operation of the Negro middle class was enriched and broadened. A more or less stable but thin layer of Negro business enterprise was able to encrust itself upon the body of the Negro community.

There could have been no "happier solution" of the Negro question, if one wishes to indulge in historical conjectures, than if the exodus had succeeded in depriving the plantation of the main portion of its peons, distributing the Negro population more evenly over the country and destroying the Black Belt prison of a whole people. But it was too late. The plantation system had already become strongly entrenched and was bolstered by a severe credit system which finds its source in the principal financial centers of the North. The labor demand proved to be only tem-

(*Continued on page* 136)

The Separate State Hokum

By George S. Schuyler

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

WHEN ever the Aframerican, flailed unduly by poverty, prejudice and proscription, yammers aloud for succor, there is a wild stampede of hungry sociological shamans loaded down with weird and colorful nostrums, clamoring to assuage his hurts.

Thus, we have been periodically afflicted with the Back-to-Africa dervishes from the early days of the Republic to the advent of the infantile paralysis of Garveyism; the high pressure Group Economy salesmen who view segregation through rose-tinted spectacles, and the wistful witchmen who see Zion amid the snows of Alaska or the swamps of the Amazon.

The beleaguered Brother has grabbed at one or the other of these nostrums as the rowels of adversity have bitten deep, but his saving sense of humor and fundamental cynicism have, after cursory examination, restrained all except the lunatic fringe from swallowing such crackpot proposals. The shamans rattle their shells and toss their gri-gri bags for a season, charm a moron minority with their bombastic amphigories, enjoy a grateful change of diet from neckbones to filet mignon, and then, when the disease has run its course and dues grow scarcer than dinosaurs, they hock their wardrobes and hold off their landladies until they glimpse another glorious vision of cash.

Scarce had the wallops of the current depression beaten the Brother to his knees, than these Profiteers of Despair bore down upon him, in response to his fervent yelps, bearing old nostrums in new cellophane. To be sure, the Back-to-Africa blather, sans Garvey, was offered again while learned clerks barked from a hundred platforms the virtues of Black Fascism, but in addition the witch doctors dazzled the Ethiopian imagination with visions of the Separate State.

Previous nostrums had had their disadvantages. Back-to-Africa involved a long ocean voyage with the disquieting prospect of becoming the *piece de resistance* at some simple native feast. Segregation was so familiar to the Aframerican that even the moving eloquence of degree-burdened professors could not dispel his apprehension. But here, now, was a proposal that really intrigued the less sapient Sons of Ham. No turbulent Atlantic to cross, no boa constrictors to wrestle in the dim jungle, no devotees of anthrophagy to outrun. Here was segregation with all of the apparent advantages of segregation and none of its obvious demerits. Unlike the brand which he was painfully familiar, this segregation permitted the Negro to rule with the white folk completely out of the picture. At one stroke it freed him of peonage, lynching, discrimination and disfranchisement. What more could be expected this side of Paradise?

The Communists dyed their segregated state proposal red and called it Self-determination for the Black Belt. The black Fascists dubbed their nostrum the Forty-Ninth State. But as Al Smith says, "No matter how thin you slice it, it's still baloney." The Forty-Ninth State proposition is perhaps less fantastic than that of the Communists, a fact which will surprise no one except Communists. Its advocates propose that Congress set aside a state for the Negroes where they may retire from the bootings of Nordica and pursue their destiny far from the influence of the Ku Klux Klan, such a state presumably to be carved from one or two of the existing commonwealths.

Counting the Cost

The Stalinites, on the other hand, unwilling to relinquish the crown of Ultra-asininity, propose that a state for colored people be gerrymandered from those sections of the Southern states where the population is predominantly Negroid. According to a map which they have prepared (a simple task for those who customarily blueprint future civilization) this territory would include much of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, and small portions of Tennessee, Texas and Florida. Across the map of the United States this territory would

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Communist Way Out

(*Continued from page* 135)

porary and, besides, other sources of labor were being uncovered by the expropriation of the farmers and the middle classes on a large scale.

Economic Progress Stopped

The present crisis of the capitalist system should thoroughly dissipate the dream of economic progress under capitalism, which is still indulged in by inveterate optimists or out-and-out charlatans. Even those slight footholds gained by the Negro on the ladder of economic advancement, hailed so jubilantly by bourgeois writers, are swiftly being lost. The economic crisis has reversed the cityward flow of the Negro; one is even met by new social philosophers, inspired by the middle ages, who find hitherto unsuspected joys of life in the agrarian South. The doors of industry are being irrevocably closed to the Negro workers under the guidance of the N.R.A., while the A.A.A. denies the privilege of even semi-slave labor on the land to increasing numbers of tenant families. The small Negro businesses and professions lead only a nightmare existence, haunted by the chain stores, monopolies and the restrictions of a small Negro market. Even the "capstones" of Negro business—some of the largest banks and insurance companies and the few industrial undertakings—have struck bottom. There has been an alarming reduction in the number of Negro landowners and in the hard-gained acreage owned by Negro farmers. Sharecropping, the most severe survival of chattel slavery, is increasing.

If these facts seem harsh to many, they are nonetheless true. Progress under chattel slavery was entirely out of the question. Marked progress under capitalism, in the sense of a full and unretarded development of the Negro people, has been almost equally impossible. The plain fact of the matter is that capitalism as a whole and, more specifically, the plantation system with its superstructure of appalling oppression, have retarded and prevented economic development of the Negro people as a whole even within the bounds of capitalism. The capitalist powers have exerted the same retarding force in the colonial world, preventing the maturing of revolutionary movements against old and outworn social systems and throwing their support to the feudal and patriarchal classes. Capitalism has created the basic inequalities of our time; in the case of the Negro it has, in addition, carried over the inequalities of chattel slavery. It is our task to remove these inequalities by destroying their basis.

Corresponding to the special type of economic exploitation which has applied to the Negro, there has arisen a whole system of severe oppression and persecution, the facts of which are too well known for me to expound here. Suffice it to say that the ideology of "white supremacy"—the most significant social legacy of chattel slavery—maintained and strengthened by capitalism, has prevented the assimilation of the Negro. Differences in racial characteristics have been utilized to delimit a whole section of the American population as a socially outcast nation, subjected to the domination of Yankee imperialism. The "stigma of race" has played the role of demarking a nation-wide Black Ghetto.

With these fundamental facts in mind, we may now proceed to examine the Communist program with regard to the Negro question. Of course, the Communist program *in all its aspects* applies to the Negro as well as to the white. But additional problems, not pertaining to corresponding sections of the white population, are here involved. To these we now turn.

Self-Determination Necessary

Contrary to the opinion held in some quarters, the right of self-determination does not exhaust the entire demand of the Communist Party with regard to the Negro. Self-determination is only one, although the most important, aspect of the struggle for equal rights. It is, in effect, the slogan of equal rights applied in its fullest extent to the specific conditions existing in the South. The demand for equal rights for Negroes—as it applies to all phases of our economic, social and political life—has been raised and fought for

(*Continued on page* 146)

The Black Belt as outlined by the Communists

What Chance Freedom

(*Continued from page* 134)

Economic Death Sentence

The nation seems to have rendered an economic death sentence against the Negro, with the time of execution almost at hand. On every hand there is opinion to support this fact:

Carol Binder of the Chicago *Daily News* wrote, "In Montgomery, Alabama, first capital of the confederacy, the wretched looking Negroes avidly searching the garbage cans for bones and other scraps of food early in the morning, before the scavengers came along, said they were share-croppers turned out of their shacks when the government paid the planters to cut down their cotton acreage as a part of the crop reduction program.";

Clark Foreman, when adviser on the economic status of Negro, in the Department of the Interior, said, "Downtrodden and terrorized into peonage by those who claim that 'white supremacy' must be insured by such measures, the majority of the rural Negroes are confined to abject servitude and hopeless poverty.";

The Reverend Cranston Clayton (white, of Knoxville, Tennessee) related, "If Norris (Tenn.) is prophetic of the total training program of the development, then Negroes have little cause to be thankful to their Uncle Sam. At Norris will be established a working experiment in co-ordination between industry and agriculture the ideal which the Tennessee Valley Authority envisions for the whole Tennessee Valley. . . . From all this the Negro, as desperately as he needs training, is to be absolutely excluded. He cannot even live on the outskirts of the town in his customary hovel!";

Eugene Kinckle Jones, declared, "One of the most unfortunate phases of the whole industrial picture so far as Negro workers are concerned is the attitude and practice of organized labor in matters interracial. There are nineteen national labor organizations which forbid Negro membership.".

The National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State is, first of all, an acknowledgment of facts; and, while we recognize their existence, it must not be said that we approve of them any more than the diagnosis of the physician indicates his approval of the suffering of his patient. We have watched the old formula of integration and gradualism for the alleviation of the Negro's plight. This has been the prescription for seventy years. For a time, there were indications that this would gain for us a healthy status as American citizens; but, for the past quarter of a century, the trend has been downward, tending definitely to make the black man utterly helpless. Common sense and our increasing desperation tell us that something different from, or certainly in addition to, the old program, must be done.

High sounding platitudes or the burning sarcasm of well-to-do theorists among us are of little tangible consequence to our millions, who are out of doors, diseased, naked, starving and persecuted. *Their first need is to retain life,* which is rapidly being taken away from them. To stand off afar, in luxury and security, and tell our masses to integrate, to get courage, to stop running, to demand their rights, to fight, all may be good theory, yet, it is of little practical present value to these helpless folks scattered about over the country.

A New State Urged

Then, what to do about it? The National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State seeks the establishment of a new state in the Union—not an isolated, uncivilized, hostile colony around which is built a figurative Wall of China, shutting out the possibilities of travel and growth, from within and without, not a separate nation; but an interdependent commonwealth like any other of the present forty-eight states. The 49th State would be a place where the millions of black folk could be free to till the fields and get the benefit of their toil; where they could find and keep jobs in industry and commerce, in transportation and other utilities, in the building trades, in editing daily newspapers, where, in all the affairs in our civilized life, Negro women and men could advance as far as their abilities permit. Nor do we dream of a Utopia, where all of man's struggles would be brushed aside, as if by magic. Well do we know that where there are human beings there will always be human problems. It is the absence of the hope of their solution against which we rebel. Free from the barriers of race prejudice and hate, eventually there would come from these masses true representatives —United States senators; many congressmen; a state governor, with the many officials needed in the administration of the affairs of state; judges—with a mind to do us justice—in our many courts; hospitals and sanitaria administered by physicians, surgeons and scientists, from among us; educational and religious institutions, sympathetically directing the intellects and hearts of all through industry, thrift, co-operation and benevolence.

It must be understood that we do not propose the removal of all Negroes in the United States to any separate state or congregated area. Some Negroes are doing well where they are. Those Negroes who are satisfied or who can make their adjustment where they are should remain in their present locations. There are others who would not want to go any place where a large number of their race would be. For these, there would be no room in a 49th State.

In order to prepare the Negro for the responsibilities of the proper functioning of the new state, and to better equip those who would live elsewhere to survive, there shall be created in the Negro a new state of mind, of hope and confidence in himself, tying our folk together in their sympathies, thoughts and actions. The Negro must be shown that much of the problem of the Negro is the Negro himself; and more of his problem is thrust upon him because he is a Negro. Both of these phases of his difficulty can be met effectively in the United States only by solidarity and group action. There are tremendous advantages to be gained by our working together, both, for those who may remain scattered about over the nation in our present state of prostration in thousands of separate, segregated units, and for those who shall congregate in a specifically defined area for a 49th State.

Organized Buying Power

Where Negroes are themselves engaged in production, manufacture or other business, we shall give them every possible support, cooperation and encouragement, even where doing so appears to entail immediate sacrifice. *Economic strength cannot be gained through mere consumption.* Thirteen million Negroes, eighty-five per cent literate, with the training and experience we have, are by no means impotent to provide for themselves.

Furthermore, the Negro's buying power shall be organized in the aggressive and effective support of industry, commerce, business and other agencies that are favorable in the employment of Negroes. We shall investigate the principal commodities produced and distributed in this country, and determine to what extent these producers and distributors employ our folk and their attitude toward such employees. The Negro in Maryland would then know what packing houses hire Negroes in Illinois; the Negro in Georgia would be informed of the employment policy of the tobacco producers in North Carolina; those of us who buy automobiles in New York would be cognizant of the Negro worker in the automobile plants in Michigan. We would buy food, clothes, radios, gum, drinks and other things with a purpose to save ourselves from impending economic death. Our program is to "picket," point out for patronage, the businesses that are favorable to us, and to "picket" the Negro's mind so that he will recognize the importance of supporting those businesses. The Negro is simply a *fool* when he patro-

(*Continued on page* 149)

Ethiopia and World Politics

By George Padmore

Mr. Padmore, who is living now in Paris, has been in Europe for many years and, until he was ousted by Soviet Russia as editor of "The Black Worker" because he protested against the failure of Communists to rally to the aid of African workers, was the leading Negro Communist in Europe. He gives here a clear picture in simple, straightforward language, of the plight of Ethiopia and the forces in Europe which are seeking to destroy the last independent nation on the continent of Africa

THE Italio-Ethiopian conflict is but a reflection of world politics, and of the new groupings and alliances taking place among the European powers, in preparation for a new world war. Therefore, in order to clearly understand why Italian fascism has chosen this moment to launch an attack upon Ethiopia, it is first of all necessary for the reader to get a complete picture of the present European political situation. Briefly, present day Europe can be described as fascist; for England, France and the small Scandinavian countries, are the only nations in Europe still adhering to democratic institutions.

The principal features of fascism are, aggressive nationalism, and the desire for territorial expansion. This is particularly true of Germany and Italy. The imperialistic ambitions of Italy are, however, more threatening to the peace of Africa, than that of Germany, whose primary interest at the moment is to fully re-arm, and to break through the diplomatic isolation which is being developed around the Third Reich by France, England, Russia and the Little Entente.

Italy's territorial designs are in two directions, Central Europe and Africa. Since it is easier for Mussolini to achieve what he is after in Africa, than in Europe, the danger of war against Ethiopia is very great. Furthermore, it is clear that all the big powers on the League of Nations Council — Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia — would rather prefer Mussolini to make war in Africa than disturb the *status quo* in Europe. We shall deal with this question in greater detail later on. Let us first examine the relationship of forces in Europe at the moment.

Two Main Camps in Europe

Since the war, Europe has been divided into two main political camps, the Versailles and the Anti-Versailles. Those nations which emerged out of the war victoriously, are the supporters of the Versailles Treaty. Those who lost, are the Anti-Versailles, with the exception of Italy, whose special position we shall deal with later on. The Versailles group acquired what they now have at the expense of those who lost. For example, small states like Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania, either gained their entire independence, or added much territory (Roumania) as a result of the break-up of the Austrian-Hungarian and German empires. Apart from the disappearance of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania also gained their independence as a result of the war and the Russian Revolution, which led to the break-up of the Tsarist empire.

Poland also acquired a strip of German territory known as the Corridor, which runs through Greater Germany and East Prussia. This was granted to Poland, then a staunch-all of France and a member of the Versailles camp, in order to give her an outlet to the Baltic by way of Danzig. The German African colonies were divided up between England, France and Belgium under mandates of the League of Nations. So much for those who gained by the war.

The sufferers from a territorial point of view were, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia, for Roumania annexed Bessarabia. For years the Soviet Government refused to recognize the right of Roumania to Bessarabia, but they have recently settled this question in Roumania's favor in order to make it possible for Russia to win the support of the Little Entente against Germany. Similarly, Germany has "recognized" Poland's claims to the Corridor in order to win her support against Russia. This is an example of high diplomacy!

After the Treaty of Versailles, the victor nations formed a united front called the Little Entente under the leadership of France, in which they agreed to help each other defend what they won in the event that Germany, Hungary or Russia ever attempt to regain lost territories by means of arms. France supports the Little Entente because she, too, needs allies in the event of another war with Germany. England, while paying lip service to the League, pursues her traditional policy of balance of power.

Russia and Italy

The position of Russia and Italy towards the Treaty of Versailles requires special mention. Russia emerged out of the war as a new type of state, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat or Workers' Government. As such, the early leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, refused to enter into any alliances or diplomatic entanglements with capitalist states. While the imperialists looked upon the world as divided into two camps—Versailles and Anti-Versailles, the Soviet leaders looked upon the world as divided into two different kind of camps—the Imperialist camp, and the Anti-Imperialist camp, represented by the Soviet Union. This characterized the early history of Russia's foreign policy. But since the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany and Central Europe resulting in the rise of Hitlerism on the one hand, and the threat of war in the East on the other hand, the present Soviet leaders have changed their foreign policy, as they no longer have any faith in the ability of the workers of Europe and America to defend Russia if attacked. So with the object of safeguarding the Revolution, the Kremlin has made an alliance with France and the friendship with the Little Entente. And since they are also afraid of losing what they have, they all find it possible to collaborate in defending the *status quo*, or to use diplomatic language, "Peace," for the *status quo* can only be changed by war. Russia can therefore be considered a member of the Versailles camp.

Now let us examine Italy's position. Although one of the victor nations, Italian fascism is hostile towards the Versailles Treaty. The reason for this can be traced to pre-war diplomacy. Before the war, Italy was an ally of Germany, but when hostilities broke out, Italy hesitated to join the Central Powers. Finally France succeeded in getting the Italians to come over on the side of the Allies. Thanks to the services of the well known French professor, Marcel Cachin, who is now the leader of the Communist Party of France, Aristide Briand, another old socialist, was able to bribe the Italians to join the slaughter. Funny old world this. While men like Lenin and Trotsky were dodging the French police for fighting against the war, "comrade"

Cachin, was acting as chief recruiting agent for his bourgeoisie. Well, in order to get the Italians to support them, the French signed a secret treaty with them promising them rich booty in Africa and elsewhere. It is very important for Negroes to understand this, for the failure of France and the other Allies to live up to their promises, today has direct bearing upon the Ethiopian situation. In other words, as war is again being prepared, France is trying to pay Italy her arrears by giving her a free hand to grab Ethiopia so as to win her support in the future.

London Treaty of 1915

In the secret treaty of April, 1915, in London, Italy was to receive some of the German colonies and spheres of influence in the Balkans. But after the war, England, France and Belgium grabbed the colonies, and the Little Entente states gobbled up what ever was to be had in Europe and left the Italians in the cold. Here is where trouble began. Italy seized German-speaking Tyrol in southern Austria and part of Dalmatia and Fiume from the Serbs in 1920. But these small bites could not satisfy the Italians. When Mussolini came to power, he started to attack and denounce the Treaty of Versailles, but knowing that Italy is no match against France, he turned his attention towards the Balkans. It was not difficult for him to intrigue in the inner affairs of Jugoslavia and the other Balkan states, for jealousies are great among them. Mussolini incited national minorities against the dominant ones, and played off one power against the other. He flirted with all the discontented nations — Austria, Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria from time to time. He demanded the right of expansion in the Balkans; he wanted colonies; he wanted to turn the Adriatic into a Roman lake; he wanted everything. Not without reason, Italy is now supporting the rebel forces of Venizelos, to overthrow the Greek Government, so as to break up the Balkan Entente which exists between Greece, Turkey, Jugoslavia and Roumania. Mussolini has his fingers in every intrigue in Europe. All because he is dissatisfied with things as they are.

Hitler Prepares for War

Since Hitler has come to power many changes have taken place in the realignment of forces. Hitler is a fascist dictator like Mussolini, and like the Italian, dissatisfied with Europe as it is. In this respect both men are one, but nonetheless, their interests clash. For example, Hitler wants to get hold of Austria in order to use it as a stepping stone into the Balkans. He also wants colonies in Africa, but chief of all to expand East, i. e., Soviet Ukraine. Mussolini also wants Austria, failing which, he is interested to keep Hitler out. It is here where the interests of the two dictators cross swords.

The difference between Hitler and Mussolini is this: Mussolini is a great boaster. He knows that his war machine cannot stand up before the combined forces of France and the Little Entente, so with this knowledge, he is looking towards Africa, for war is the only way out of the crisis, which is getting worse and worse daily. Hitler on the other hand, has a formidable war machine at his disposal, thanks to the Kaiser's generals who perfected the Reichswehr, under the benevolent protection of the Republican-socialists. To this army Hitler's man "Friday," General Goering, has added an air force potentially, if not actually the equal of any in Europe. This war machine all Europe is afraid of, in so much so, that the British Government has recently issued a White Paper which spells the end of all attempt to arrive at an agreement of "collective security."

Since it is clear to everybody outside a lunatic asylum, that Hitler intends to strike out East and into Central Europe as soon as the generals say "go," he has thrown all those who stand for the *status quo* into alarm. In this pre-war atmosphere, Mussolini sees his chance to offer his support to the highest bidder, and to cash in before the war begins, so that Italy will not be left in the cold as happened after the last slaughter.

The Deal Is Put Over

As France is more in need of Mussolini's support than Germany, Pierre Laval, the French Foreign Minister, paid a visit to Rome in January, and there came to terms with Mussolini. What are the terms? France agreed to give Italy a slice of the French Sahara, about the size of England, a portion of French Somaliland, and part of her shares in the Abyssinian railway, which runs from Djibuti, the port of French Somaliland to Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. But the most important part of the deal is that, Mussolini has a free hand to grab as much of Ethiopia as he can.

The Pact of Rome is the most glaring example of the united front of white Europe against black Africa. It should serve to open the eyes of Negroes the world over, that white nations, regardless of their political systems, have no scruples in joining hands in assigning parts of Africa to whichever one stands most in need of colonies. This was the policy adopted by the Berlin Conference of 1885. The Rome Pact is just a continuation of that policy. In other words, Africa is not worth while for whites to fight over. They share it out by mutual agreement. However, there are some white people who will be consoling the blacks that it is better to sacrifice Ethiopia, than to disturb the peace of Europe. Already this is the tune of sections of the European press. They openly say that the white man's continent is more important than the black man's.

Now let us turn our attention to the seat of conflict.

Preparations for War

Mussolini's aggressive attitude towards Ethopia dates back to the time when France and Russia failed to get Poland to support the Eastern Locarno Pact. He figured, and correctly so, that France would have to come to terms with him, so he began to provoke Ethiopia, knowing that France was in his hands and could not protest. Neither would England, for since 1925, an agreement existed between Great Britain and Italy for mutual spheres of interests in Ethiopia. Italy is to have special economic rights in the east, and freedom to build a railway to connect the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland; while England is to enjoy the right of control over the waters of Lake Tsana, the source of the Blue Nile, which supplies water to the British-owned cotton plantations in Anglo-Egyptian Soudan. The only other big power on the League Council is Soviet Russia, but Litvinov dares not raise his voice in protest, although Ethiopia is a member since 1923, and Article I of the Covenant "guarantees" the sovereignty and integrity of member states. The League is no more than a farce.

For instance, when the first clash took place of Wal-Wal, the Emperor immediately appealed to the League for justice, but instead of receiving a hearing, pressure was brought to bear upon him to withdraw his charges against Mussolini. Not having one colored member on the Council he was forced to do so, as the

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CHICAGO WAR

The article by Miss Thyra J. Edwards in the March CRISIS, telling of the company union maintained at a garment factory there kicked up quite a fuss. J. Wellington Evans, since revealed as an employe of the factory, replied in the April number with his condemnation of unions and Miss Edwards.. In the June issue Miss Edwards will have her rebuttal in an article entitled: "Who Is Disinterested?" Out May 22.

On the N.A.A.C.P. Southern Front

By Daisy E. Lampkin

Mrs. Lampkin, regional field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., whose special work is the organization and personal direction of membership campaigns, reports here on her work in the south

IF one is inclined to doubt the value of a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to a local community, one has only to visit Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana. My winter schedule included intensive membership campaigns in these cities, each of which was successful.

Birmingham, called the Magic City, with a Negro population of 100,000, has faced a great unemployment problem which affected thousands of steel workers in this industrial center. The local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. has investigated reported cases of discrimination in the giving of relief, in violations of codes under the NRA, and in granting jobs under the ERA, and has been successful in making many adjustments and in securing white collar jobs for trained workers.

Exception has been taken by the Birmingham branch to a recent ruling of the Alabama state Democratic committee which gives counties the right to bar Negro voters from the Democratic primaries. Advantage of this has been taken by several counties, which has resulted in Negroes voting in the Democratic primaries in some counties, and being prohibited in others. The Birmingham branch is seeking the cooperation of other branches throughout the state in further steps against this disfranchisement. Just what effect the recent Texas decision by the U. S. supreme court will have in the state is a matter of conjecture.

Following the successful membership campaign in Birmingham, a woman's auxiliary was organized, which took as its objective the establishment of citizenship schools where the fundamentals of citizenship and qualifications for registration are to be taught to adults.

Improve Rail Facilities

Mobile, with a Negro population of 30,000, has been successful in maintaining an active branch of the association, under intelligent and aggressive leadership. Rigid investigation by a committee of the branch has been made in the conditions of the separate coaches on trains on all railroads into Mobile. Protests against unequal accommodations have been made to the railroad officials, and where corrections have not resulted, reports have been filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission. The result has been greatly improved conditions for colored passengers in this section of the South where the Jim-Crow law of "separate but equal accommodation" has been violated.

The membership campaign in Mobile had the one hundred per cent cooperation of the teachers in public and private schools. In one school, candy was made by the teachers and sold to the children on "N.A.A.C.P. Day," thereby giving each child the opportunity of contributing to the campaign fund. Because of the keen interest on the part of the schools, a junior branch was organized, composed of those students of the two high schools, who recognized in the principles of the N.A.A.C.P. the ideals and aims which they might inculcate in their youth to help them prepare for courageous womanhood and manhood.

A woman's auxiliary under fine, young leadership was organized to serve as the social committee of the branch, and to assist in the program of increased registration of voters, which is one of the objectives of the Mobile branch.

New Orleans, ninety miles removed from the scene of the recent Jerome Wilson lynching in Franklinton, was serious in the effort to increase the membership and activities of the local branch of the association. The value of the organization had been proved a few years ago when the branch, through a supreme court decision, had successfully defeated the attempt of the city to restrict Negroes as to residence. The New Orleans branch, which has assumed the responsibility of the $1,000 legal fee for the defense of Jerome Wilson (who was lynched in jail in Franklinton, January 11, 1935, after a new trial had been granted him) and for his brother, Felton Wilson, who is now in jail, had the assistance of churches, schools, colleges, fraternal and civic organizations, insurance companies and leading citizens in the campaign for memberships and funds. The results of the campaign exceeded the goal set by the campaign committee.

In many of the schools, the faculty became 100% members. Heads of in-

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Executive committee members and officers of the Youth's division, New Orleans, La., branch, left to right, sitting: Miss Earline Saunders; Miss Zelda Brown, recording secretary; Miss Daisy Bloomfield, assistant secretary; Murlin Hayes, president; Miss Elise Lenoir; Miss Katherine Walker, corresponding secretary. First row, standing: Archie LeCense; Herbert Webb, treasurer; William Banks, Jr.; Leslie Collins. Second row, standing: James E. Gayle, president of Senior branch; Raymond Floyd, first vice-president; Condy Sartor; Thaddeus Aubry. Those not pictured: Homer McEwen, second vice-president; Miss Bernice Sorrell; and Benjamin Haines

A Black Inventory of the New Deal

By John P. Davis

Since 1933 Mr. Davis has earned the title of "Bad Boy Administration Critic" by his outspoken lashing of the New Deal's treatment of Negroes. He surveys two years of the Roosevelt administration in this article and, as usual, is well fortified with facts and figures, mostly from the government itself

IT is highly important for the Negro citizen of America to take inventory of the gains and losses which have come to him under the "New Deal." The Roosevelt administration has now had two years in which to unfold itself. Its portents are reasonably clear to anyone who seriously studies the varied activities of its recovery program. We can now state with reasonable certainty what the "New Deal" means for the Negro.

At once the most striking and irrefutable indication of the effect of the New Deal on the Negro can be gleaned from relief figures furnished by the government iself. In October, 1933, six months after the present administration took office, 2,117,000 Negroes were in families receiving relief in the United States. These represented 17.8 per cent of the total Negro population as of the 1930 census. In January, 1935, after nearly two years of *recovery measures*, 3,500,000 Negroes were in families receiving relief, or 29 per cent of our 1930 population. Certainly only a slight portion of the large increase in the number of impoverished Negro families can be explained away by the charitable, on the grounds that relief administration has become more humane. As a matter of fact federal relief officials themselves admit that grave abuses exist in the administration of rural relief to Negroes. And this is reliably borne out by the disproportionate increase in the number of urban Negro families on relief to the number of rural Negro families on relief. Thus the increase in the number of Negroes in relief families is an accurate indication of the deepening of the economic crisis for black America.

NRA Promises Glimmer

The promise of NRA to bring higher wages and increased employment to industrial workers has glimmered away. In the code-making process occupational and geographical differentials at first were used as devices to exclude from the operation of minimum wages and maximum hours the bulk of the Negro workers. Later, clauses basing code wage rates on the previously existing wage differential between Negro and white workers tended to continue the inferior status of the Negro. For the particular firms, for whom none of these devices served as an effective means of keeping down Negro wages, there is an easy way out through the securing of an exemption specifically relating to the *Negro* worker in the plant. Such exemptions are becoming more numerous as time goes on. Thus from the beginning relatively few Negro workers were even theoretically covered by NRA labor provisions.

But employers did not have to rely on the code-making process. The Negro worker not already discriminated against through code provisions had many other gauntlets to run. The question of importance to him as to all workers was, "as a result of all of NRA's maneuvers will I be able to buy more?" The answer has been "No." A worker cannot eat a wage rate. To determine what this wage rate means to him we must determine a number of other factors. Thus rates for longshoremen seem relatively high. But when we realize that the average amount of work a longshoreman receives during the year is from ten to fifteen weeks, the wage rate loses much of its significance. When we add to that fact the increase in the cost of living—as high as 40 per cent in many cases—the wage rate becomes even more chimerical. For other groups of industrial workers increases in cost of living, coupled with the part time and irregular nature of the work, make the results of NRA negligible. In highly mechanized industries speed-up and stretch-out nullify the promised result of NRA to bring increased employment through shorter hours. For the workers are now producing more in their shorter work periods than in the longer periods before NRA. There is less employment. The first sufferer from fewer jobs is the Negro worker. Finally the complete break-down compliance machinery in the South has cancelled the last minute advantage to Negro workers which NRA's enthusiasts may have claimed.

AAA and PWA Indicted

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has used cruder methods in enforcing poverty on the Negro farm population. It has made violations of the rights of tenants under crop reduction contracts easy; it has rendered enforcement of these rights impossible. The reduction of the acreage under cultivation through the government rental agreement rendered unnecessary large numbers of tenants and farm laborers. Although the contract with the government provided that the land owner should not reduce the number of his tenants, he did so. The federal courts have now refused to allow tenants to enjoin such evictions. Faced with this Dred Scott decision against farm tenants, the AAA has remained discretely silent. Farm laborers are now jobless by the hundreds of thousands, the conservative government estimate of the decline in agricultural employment for the year 1934 alone being a quarter of a million. The larger portion of these are unskilled Negro agricultural workers—now without income and unable to secure work or relief.

But the unemployment and tenant evictions occasioned by the crop reduction policies of the AAA is not all. For the tenants and sharecroppers who were retained on the plantations the government's agricultural program meant reduced income. Wholesale fraud on tenants in the payment of parity checks occurred. Tenants complaining to the Department of Agriculture in Washington have their letters referred back to the locality in which they live and trouble of serious nature often results. Even when this does not happen, the tenant fails to get his check. The remainder of the land he tills on shares with his landlord brings him only the most meagre necessities during the crop season varying from three to five months. The rest of the period for him and his family is one of "root hog or die."

The past year has seen an extension of poverty even to the small percentage (a little more than 20 per cent) of Negro farmers who own their own land. For them compulsory reduction of acreage for cotton and tobacco crops, with the quantum of such reduction controlled and regulated by local boards on which they have no representation, has meant drastic reduction of their already low income. Wholesale confiscation of the income of the Negro cotton and tobacco farmer is being made by prejudiced local boards in the South under the very nose of the federal government. In the wake of such confiscation has come a tremendous increase in land tenantry as a result of foreclosures on Negro-owned farm properties.

Nor has the vast public works program, designed to give increased employment to workers in the building trades, been free from prejudice. State officials in the South are in many cases in open rebellion against the ruling of PWA that the same wage scales must be paid to Negro and white labor. Compliance with this paper ruling is enforced in only rare cases. The majority of the instances of violation of this rule are unremedied. Only unskilled work is given Negroes on public works projects in most instances. And even here discrimination in employment is notorious. Such is bound to be the case when we realize that there are only a handful of investigators available to seek enforcement.

Recently a move has been made by Negro officials in the administration to effect larger employment of Negro skilled and unskilled workers on public works projects by specifying that failure of a contractor to pay a certain percentage of his payroll to Negro artisans will be evidence of racial discrimination. Without doubting the good intentions of the sponsors of this ingenious scheme, it must nevertheless be pointed out that it fails to meet the problem in a number of vital particulars. It has yet to face a test in the courts, even if one is willing to suppose that PWA high officials will bring it to a test. Percentages thus far experimented with are far too low and the number of such experiments far too few to make an effective dent in the unemployment conditions of Negro construction industry workers. Moreover the scheme gives aid and comfort to employer-advocates of strike-breaking and the open shop; and, while offering, perhaps, some temporary relief to a few hundred Negro workers, it establishes a dangerous precedent which throws back the labor movement and the organization of Negro workers to a considerable degree. The scheme, whatever its Negro sponsors may hope to contrary, becomes therefor only another excuse for their white superiors maintaining a "do-nothing" policy with regard to discrimination against Negroes in the Public Works Administration.

Lily-White Social Planning

The Negro has no pleasanter outlook in the long term social planning ventures of the new administration. Planning for subsistence homesteads for industrially stranded workers has been muddled enough even without consideration of the problem of integrating Negroes into such plans. Subsistence Homesteads projects are overburdened with profiteering prices for the homesteads and foredoomed to failure by the lack of planning for adequate and permanent incomes for prospective homesteaders.

In callous disregard of the interdiction in the Constitution of the United States against use of federal funds for projects which discriminate against applicants solely on the ground of color, subsistence homesteads have been planned on a strictly "lily-white" basis. The more than 200 Negro applicants for the first project at Arthurdale, West Virginia were not even considered, Mr. Bushrod Grimes (then in charge of the project) announcing that the project was to be open only to "native white stock." As far north as Dayton, Ohio, where state laws prohibit any type of segregation against Negroes, the federal government has extended its "lily-white" policy. Recently it has established two Jim-Crow projects for Negroes. Thus the new administration seeks in its program of social planning to perpetuate ghettoes of Negroes for fifty years to come.

An even more blatant example of this policy of "lily-white" reconstruction is apparent in the planning of the model town of Norris, Tennessee, by the Tennessee Valley Authority. This town of 450 model homes is intended for the permanent workers on Norris Dam. The homes are rented by the federal government, which at all times maintains title to the land and dwellings and has complete control of the town management. Yet officials at TVA openly admit that no Negroes are allowed at Norris.

TVA has other objectionable features. While Negro employment now approaches an equitable proportion of total employment; the payroll of Negro workers remains disproportionately lower than that of whites. While the government has maintained a trade school to train workers on the project, no Negro trainees have been admitted. Nor have any meaningful plans matured for the future of the several thousand Negro workers who in another year or so will be left without employment, following completion of work on the dams being built by TVA.

None of the officials of TVA seems to have the remotest idea of how Negroes in the Tennessee Valley will be able to buy the cheap electricity which TVA is designed to produce. They admit that standards of living of the Negro population are low, that the introduction of industry into the Valley is at present only a nebulous dream, that even if this eventuates there is no assurance that Negro employment will result. The fairest summary that can be made of TVA is that for a year or so it has furnished bread to a few thousand Negro workers. Beyond that everything is conjecture which is most unpleasant because of the utter planlessness of those in charge of the project.

Recovery legislation of the present session of Congress reveals the same fatal flaws which have been noted in the operation of previous recovery ventures. Thus, for example, instead of genuine unemployment insurance we have the leaders of the administration proposing to exclude from their plans domestic and agricultural workers, in which classes are to be found 15 out of every 23 Negro workers. On every hand the New Deal has used slogans for the same raw deal.

THE sharpening of the crisis for Negroes has not found them unresponsive. Two years of increasing hardship has seen strange movement among the masses. In Chicago, New York, Washington and Baltimore the struggle for jobs has given rise to action on the part of a number of groups seeking to boycott white employers who refuse to employ Negroes. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns are springing up everywhere. The crisis has furnished renewed vigor to the Garvey Movement. And proposals for a 49th State are being seriously considered by various groups.

In sharp contrast with these strictly racial approaches to the problem, have been a number of interracial approaches. Increasing numbers of unemployed groups have been organized under radical leadership and have picketed relief stations for bread. Sharecroppers unions, under Socialist leadership in Arkansas, have shaken America into a consciousness of the growing resentment of southern farm tenants and the joint determination of the Negro and white tenants to do something about their intolerable condition.

In every major strike in this country Negro union members have fought with their white fellow workers in a struggle for economic survival. The bodies of ten Negro strikers killed in such strike struggles offer mute testimony to this fact. Even the vicious policies of the leaders of the A. F. of L. in discrimination against Negro workers is breaking down under the pressure for solidarity from the ranks of whites.

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ROBBERY and MISERY

A close-up picture of the plight of the tenant farmers in Arkansas, who have joined together in a union with white and black members and officers, with absolutely no color line, to fight against robbery and misery, will be told by Ward H. Rodgers in the June CRISIS. Mr. Rodgers was arrested and jailed for "anarchy" when he aided the tenants to organize and protest.

The George Crawford Case

A Statement by the N.A.A.C.P.—Part II

RESUME

(*From April issue, page* 104)

MRS. ILSLEY and her maid Mrs. Buckner were murdered January 13, 1932, in Middleburg, Va. George Crawford, a Negro, was indicted for the murders but not apprehended. A year later Crawford was arrested in Boston and Virginia sought his return to that state for trial. At first Crawford denied his identity and claimed an alibi: that he had been in Boston continuously from September, 1931, until after the date of the murders in January, 1932. He finally admitted his identity but clung to his alibi, and witnesses supported him. After long extradition hearings followed by habeas corpus proceedings Crawford was returned to Virginia. There his case was turned over to Charles H. Houston and his associate counsel.

Crawford's sweetheart, Bertie DeNeal, told Houston that Crawford had left Boston with her in December, 1931, that she had seen him in Virginia after Christmas Day, and had received a note from him on the day of the murders asking for some food. When Crawford was told Bertie's story he admitted his alibi had been false. He admitted he had left Boston with Bertie DeNeal and gave an account of his movements until after the murders. He claimed that a companion Charlie Johnson, had committed the murders in an attempt to burglarize Mrs. Ilsley's house, and told counsel where he would find certain clothes in Washington that he had abandoned after the murders. Counsel went to the place mentioned and obtained the clothes.

Counsel also investigated a rumor that Mrs. Ilsley's brother had been implicated in the case, but no support for the rumor could be found. Crawford insisted that Mrs. Ilsley's brother was not involved in any way and that both murders had been committed by Charlie Johnson.

WHILE all the details of the murders, what actually went on inside Mrs. Ilsley's cottage, may not be known to mathematical certainty, some things are clear. The first is that a Negro boy somewhat taller than Crawford was actually Crawford's companion hitch-hiking from Washington to Middleburg, Virginia, between January 10-12, 1932. Crawford says that he met this boy, whom he calls Charlie Johnson, in Washington at a Salvation Army dormitory, and that when he decided to go down to Middleburg to see Bertie, Charlie Johnson went along. On Sunday evening, January 10, 1932, Robert Hughes, a white boy living near Herndon, Virginia, was hailed by two Negroes on the highway who asked for a place to stay: one of the men was Crawford. Hughes took the men to one Hammond Noke's house on the Herndon-Leesburg road. The next day Hughes said the same two men went up the road past his house in the direction of Leesburg.

Crawford and Charlie Johnson stayed at Hammond Nokes' house that Sunday night. Hammond Nokes, his nephew Rastus Nokes, and a friend, Joe Hill, testified that the two men stayed at the house that night. Lester Hill, Joe's brother, refused to testify for the state, but he told Houston that Crawford and his companion had stayed at Nokes' house. On Monday morning when Crawford and Charlie Johnson left, Hammond Nokes had gone to work. Crawford asked one of the boys for Hammond's box number, saying he wanted to send him some money for his hospitality. Crawford went out to the mail box and copied down Hammond's address in a little book. A page torn out of a diary containing the words in Crawford's handwriting: "Mr. Nock, Box 87, Herndon, Va.," proved one of the most incriminating bits of evidence introduced against Crawford at the trial. This note had been found in Mrs. Ilsley's Ford after it had been abandoned just outside of Washington. Since he had worked for Mrs. Ilsley before he went to Boston in 1931, counsel investigated the possibility that Crawford might have left the note in the car while at work. But Crawford said that Mrs. Ilsley did not have this Ford when he worked for her, and it further developed that Crawford did not ever know there was such a person as Ham-

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Henrico County Jail
Richmond, Virginia
19 December 1933

I have been fully advised of my right to have an appeal on my behalf in the case of Commonwealth v George Crawford ~~and also to have a trial~~ (Mrs. Ilsley's murder), and to have a trial on Commonwealth v George Crawford (Mrs. Buckner's murder) to which I have pleaded "Not Guilty." I desire to drop the Ilsley case if I am able to get life imprisonment on the Buckner case. If this can be arranged I desire to change my plea of Not Guilty to Guilty in the Buckner case ~~in the~~ if it can be arranged to obtain me a life sentence. Otherwise, I desire to prosecute my appeal in Ilsley case.

George Crawford

Crawford chooses not to appeal

JUDGE HORTON
SCOTTSBORO REVERSAL
JUNE-1933!!
U.S. SUPREME COURT
SCOTTSBORO REVERSAL
APRIL 1935!!
SUPREME COURT
SCOTTBORO REVERSAL
NOV. 1932!!
ALABAMA
JUSTICE
Blanden

Under Fire!

Editorials

The Harlem Riot

IT has been said truthfully that the riot which swept over Harlem, March 19, may be explained, but not excused. No appeal to mob violence can be excused. To do so even in one instance would be to condone the more than 5,000 lynchings which have disgraced America and snuffed out innocent Negro lives.

Nevertheless, while condemning the outbreak, no thoughtful citizen of either race can afford to neglect a study of and attention to the great misery and exploitation which obtains in Harlem and which, sooner or later, was bound to cause an eruption. The only reason a disturbance did not occur long before March 19 is that Negroes are perhaps the world's most patient sufferers of injustice.

Tenement House Commissioner Langdon W. Post gave valuable testimony before the committee appointed by Mayor LaGuardia when he charged the landlords with gouging Negroes. Such an assertion from an official source cannot be ignored.

But no one should be deceived into believing that the mere opening of jobs to Negroes *in Harlem*, purely on the basis of the proportion of their trade with particular establishments is going to solve the economic problem of the race in New York. The events call for a thorough, well-financed survey, not a superficial one.

It must be established by the Mayor's committee that the Negro deserves to be employed wherever his talents fit him for employment; that first among the firms to employ him should be those in his own neighborhoods which live off his patronage; that no public utility should bar him from employment because of his color; that he must have adequate relief without bias and without sneers, impertinence and personal opinions of smart-aleck investigators, supervisors and personnel directors; that jobs in administrative posts and on various work relief projects, and especially on city, state and federal public works projects must be his without discrimination; that he must have opportunity in all the city services and training schools, including hospitals and nurse training schools; that he must have lower rents and better housing in Harlem as well as freedom to move elsewhere; that he must have more adequate police protection and less brutality; that his schools must be improved and additional recreation facilities and programs installed.

In short, the Negro New Yorker must be given an even chance with other New Yorkers to achieve a full life, unhampered by the petty racial meannesses which should have no place in the greatest city in the world. If the Mayor's committee recommends anything less than this it will have learned little from the outburst of March 19 and nothing from the testimony it is collecting.

Behind the Times

WHILE the decision of the supreme court in the Texas case, upholding the Democratic party in barring Negroes from membership and thus barring them from participation in the Democratic primaries, is a heavy blow at the Negro's status as a citizen in the South, it cannot long stand in the way of qualified Negroes securing the ballot. For the decision is against the trend of public opinion, even southern public opinion. Responsible journals like the Dallas *Morning News* are for admitting the Negro to participation in citizenship duties. Thousands of white Texas Democrats are for the same thing. Just last year a powerful white woman's organization in the South, with representatives in all the southern states, passed a resolution asking each delegate to investigate the barring of qualified Negroes from voting in their cities and counties. All signs point to the overtaking of the supreme court's decision by public opinion, which overtaking will be speeded by militant action of Negroes themselves.

Another Step in a Slow Climb

THERE is no doubt but that the clean cut pronouncement of the United States supreme court April 1 in reversing the convictions in the two Scottsboro cases and sending them back to Alabama for retrial is a marked step forward in the fight for full rights for colored Americans.

The decision, of course, concerns itself with the question at issue: whether the state of Alabama had excluded Negroes from jury service and thus denied the defendants their constitutional rights. It found that the state had done so. But the decision, while taking no open account of the system of exploitation and discrimination inextricably bound up with the simple denial of jury service, served as a blow against the system, even if only by way of forcing widespread rumination upon it in connection with the specific question in hand.

Our optimists, even among the informed liberals, are busy with rosy pictures of what the decision is going to force the South to do. THE CRISIS cannot be optimistic on this point.

The hard fact overlooked by the optimists is that opening the jury service to Negroes in the manner indicated by the supreme court would be a damaging step toward upsetting the traditional control devices of government as it is practised in the South. The order of Governor Bibb Graves is notice to the world that Alabama officialdom is going to observe the letter of the law as directed by the supreme court. Alabama is to be commended for not sulking, but one might ask why no such attention was paid the law prior to the decision? The Constitution has always been here for all to read who will. The attorney general of Alabama, the state's highest law officer, was chief prosecutor. Did he not know the Constitution?

He did, of course. The answer to all this is that Alabama and other southern states will obey the supreme law of the land only when they are made to do so, not because they have a will to do justice toward a Negro in a critical case.

In other battles on other fronts the answer has been the same. When the N.A.A.C.P. won its supreme court decision outlawing the "grandfather clause" method of disfranchisement in 1915, the polls were not opened wide to Negroes. Today there is still being waged a bitter battle against other effective forms of disfranchisement. Likewise the winning of a supreme court decision by the N.A.A.C.P. in the Arkansas sharecropper cases in 1919-23, did not prevent the conflict now ranging in Arkansas over the very same issues raised in 1919.

The chief gains of the Scottsboro case so far have been outside the courtroom. The attention of millions of persons has been focused upon the southern part of the United States.

There will be, eventually, other gains. New penetration has been made against the theory of exploitation. The wielders of the lash (literal and figurative) may not stay their hand as yet, but they are given pause. This is a different time, certainly, than thirty years ago; and tomorrow will be different—and better— than today. Every victory like the decision of April 1 is another step ahead. Each adds slowly to liberty.

Communist Way Out

(*Continued from page* 136)

by Communists in all parts of the country. The slogan itself has for so long been, at least verbally, in the program of liberals that its most obvious applications are generally understood. It is necessary, however, to emphasize that while the liberals have restricted it entirely to the social and political field, the Communists extend it to the economic sphere as well, as expressed in the demand for "equal pay for equal work," "the right to all jobs," etc. In addition, the struggle for equal rights and the fight against all forms of discrimination and persecution are organized and led by the Communists, not in a reformist or opportunist fashion from above, but in such a way as to involve the broadest masses of white and Negro in a militant struggle for their rights. The difference between the reformist and Communist methods is best exemplified by the Crawford case, on the one hand, and the Scottsboro case on the other.

In the Black Belt of the South full equal rights for the Negro can mean only one thing—the right of self-determination. This is a fully realizable and historically necessary solution. It is an inevitable concomitant of the struggle against plantation slavery and for equal rights in the Black Belt, and is, in fact, the *key democratic demand* raised not only in the struggle for Negro liberation but projected by historical progress itself in the wiping out of all the remnants of chattel slavery.

If the Negroes in the United States as a whole have not been permitted to partake of the benefits of capitalist democracy—such as they are—the reason is to be found in the fact that the vestiges of the chattel slave system have remained firmly embedded in the present social system. The Civil War and the Reconstruction period did not fulfil the tasks demanded by history. Chattel slavery was abolished, but the plantation and sharecropping remained. The most pertinent battlecry of Reconstruction—"forty acres and a mule"—was drowned in the clatter of northern demagogy. Virtual re-enslavement on the plantation carried with it the denial of practically all civil rights.

The Civil War revolution must be completed. This is the key to the solution of the Negro question.

But it would be ridiculous to envision a new "Civil War" in terms of 1860–1865. The tasks remain essentially the same: the destruction of the plantation and tenant system, the confiscation of the landed estates for the benefit of the tenants and poor farmers and the achievement of the fullest democracy for the masses. But class alignments and, therefore, the form of the struggle have changed. In the first place, the present plantation masters, instead of finding their chief opponents in the industrial capitalists as during the Civil War, now find themselves fully at one with the capitalist class as a whole. Secondly, the plantation and tenant peasantry find at their side a large proletariat whose class interests propel them towards a final struggle against capitalism. In the sixties there was only one principal question—the struggle against the slave power. Today the struggle against the plantation system develops in the midst of a general struggle against capitalism. Under such circumstances, a revolutionary proletariat finds one of its most important allies in the Negro people, who in their struggle against the relics of chattel slavery at the same time strike a heavy blow at the power of capitalism. And the Negro people can find their only dependable and their most powerful ally in the proletariat.

A Negro Government

Any real, basic, complete transformation of the plantation country is unthinkable unless at the same time new political institutions arise carrying with them the fullest democracy for the masses of the people. The plantation is situated precisely in the area where the Negroes are in the majority of the population. A really democratic transformation would mean, first of all, that the Negroes, hitherto excluded from democracy, would now in fact be the very carriers of the widest democracy. The revolutionary governmental power which is created in the Black Belt as the result of a democratic revolution, would of necessity be in the hands of the workers *and* the peasantry. In such a government, from the local administrative units to the top bodies, the Negroes would be greatly predominant, because they form the overwhelming majority of these classes in the area where such a transformation would take place. There can be no better assurance of such complete democracy than that the Negroes themselves are today the most oppressed of all in the South and that they constitute the chief revolutionary sector of the plantation populace.

The highest political expression of the fulfillment of this democratic revolution is the creation of the Negro republic in the area approximating the present Black Belt. We use the term "Negro republic" not in the sense of "Negro domination" or a "dictatorship of Negroes." The local as well as the higher governmental bodies will include also large numbers of white workers and poor farmers, who have participated side by side with the Negroes in the struggle against the plantation-capitalist ruling class, and would now be engaged in the task of consolidating the newly-won power. The term "Negro Republic" merely signifies that as the result of the fullest democracy, won for the first time in the South, the Negro necessarily plays the leading and most important role in the new republic.

We have a comparable situation in our own history. The Reconstruction state governments of the South from 1868 to about 1875 included representatives of the northern bourgeoisie, the southern middle class and the ex-slaves. In the Black Belt counties the local offices were held almost entirely by Negroes. The lower houses of three southern state legislatures had a majority of Negro representatives, while a number of Negroes was sent to both the House and Senate of the United States. If fuller democracy had then been won, there would have been a much higher proportion of Negroes in the state bodies and they would have held most of the governmental positions in a number of southern states. In the course of a modern "Civil War," when an entirely new republic would arise out of the Black Belt created by really democratic classes, history would be improved upon a hundredfold.

The Right to Secede

But the most crucial test of freedom would arise in the relationship between the Negro republic and the United States as a whole. It is at this point that the right of self-determination becomes *the* question. The right of self-determination means the right of a people to choose freely between complete political independence from another nation and political federation with that nation. One cannot say in advance under what conditions this question might arise for solution with regard to the Negro republic—that is, whether at that time the capitalists will still be in power in the rest of the country or a proletarian revolution will already have established a Soviet government. In any case, Communists support the free exercise of the right of self-determination, no matter what the choice, because it is only on the basis of a democratic choice, freely arrived at, that a federation of Socialist nations can exist. Negro Communists would agitate and organize for either separation or federation, depending upon whether the capitalists or the workers hold governmental power in the United States. The Communist party and the Soviet government would under all circumstances respect the choice arrived at as the real democratic expression of the Negro people.

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Back to the Farm—For What?

***Africo-American Presbyterian*, Charlotte, N. C.**

There are those who profess to believe that the economic situation among Negroes would be greatly relieved if many who have migrated from the country to the cities would return to the rurals whence they came. We question the wisdom of this view. Some might be benefited by going back to the country, but in most cases the change would be merely a transferring of the problem from one area to another.

First of all, these people have nothing in the country to go back to, and if one were disposed to return he would have to begin life all over again. The old shacks which they left behind have in many instances become dilapidated and uninhabitable, and in most sections landlords are unable to finance tenants as in times past. In the second place, unless some substantial aid is offered in the attempt to begin again, we do not believe there will be any great rush back to the farms. In fact, it would be about as hard to get the average farm laborer back on the farm after he has had a taste of city life, even with its handicaps, as it would be to get our professional men back there.

Frankly, we have very little sympathy with those who, in seeking a solution to the present situation, "bathe their eyes in rose water, lie down to sleep and awake to give the world visions of an impossible paradise" for the Negro.

It is hoped that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will pay no further attention to the foolish ravings that there has been a miscarriage of justice in the case of George Crawford.

It is conceded by all in a position to know the facts that the defense counsel met every test and that only their resourcefulness saved the defendant from the electric chair.

We repeat what we said in a former issue. The N.A.A.C.P. picked a bad case and acted wisely by not allowing a legal technicality stand in the way of the punishment of a man who, in our opinion, has a guilty knowledge of a dastardly crime.

Enough has been said and printed about Crawford. Let him stay where he belongs—in obscurity, and rest the case.—Richmond *Planet*.

Huey Long backed down on his use of epithets because his friends, black and white, convinced him he was injuring his own cause.

Once Huey insulted Italians in a public speech by calling them dagoes, and the next day he got a barrel of protests.

When the Louisiana Senator, in a recent broadcast, used a nasty epithet referring to colored people, it was like stepping on the end of a loose plank and having the other end fly up and sock him in the face.—*Afro-American*.

The Harlem riot, and it was not a race riot, was given impetus by "red" agitators. America must not blame the "Reds" and the lunatic fringe. The governing classes of America are responsible. Those who sit in the seat of the mighty with their eyes closed to the trend and direction of mass action will awaken one bright morning when it is too late to stop the conflagration.

Warnings have been given before. The red light points to the danger spot. Throwing "reds" in prison will do no good. Machine guns and soldiers' bayonets may maintain order for a season, but there is nothing under heaven which can keep quiet the tumult which rages in the human breast as it longs and seeks for justice—the right to live as other people live.—Philadelphia *Tribune*.

Some weeks ago, editorially, we sought to urge upon you, Mr. Roosevelt, the importance of giving some assurance to the black people of America that the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill would have your support. We have been unable thus far to discern any evidence that the chief executive of the nation would exercise his great influence toward the consummation of what we believe the greatest preventative to lynching.

We regard an expression in support of the Costigan-Wagner bill from you, Mr. President, as being essential to its passage. Without your support it will not pass. We cannot believe that you will deny us this support.—Chicago *Defender*.

A Mississippi mob lynches a Negro for killing a highway worker. It was no crime of lust or hate. The killer was simply drunk and having himself a time with a pistol, firing it promiscuously. The victim demanded that he stop firing, lest he hurt someone. So the Negro shot him.

In this unhappy event, the apologist for lynch-law will seek in vain for any element that might pardonably stir a community to a frenzy of vengeful indignation. Even the brother of the dead man counselled that the law take its course, and sent out messengers to intercept the mob. Mobs must act swiftly, else reviving sanity or decency will disintegrate them. This one lynched its victim in a schoolyard!—New Orleans *Item*.

We wish Congressman Mitchell and every other Negro were free to exercise his suffrage, and attempt administration of government upon the broad plane of American citizenship. But that day is in the remote future. If Congressman Mitchell believes that his political designation as congressman frees him from the thought of black problems, all he has to do is go back to his native Southland and be standing around loose when the mob starts out "looking for a stray nigger." Better still, if Congressman Mitchell believes that he has advanced beyond a color line, a good way to correct his thinking is to return to Georgia and offer himself as a congressional candidate.—Oklahoma *Black Dispatch*.

The Harlem riot was a symptom of a deep and widespread unrest in this country. It merely happened that in this case the rioters were Negroes. Such disturbances can break out in any community where people are being grinded to death by a merciless system which admits of economic oppression, exploitation and social inequities.

While lawlessness can never be justified, desperation can always be pleaded in extenuation.

The surest way to meet the issue raised by the riot in Harlem is to correct the evil responsible for the unrest and junk the present outworn and oppressive economic system.—Richmond *Planet*.

Separate State Hokum

(*Continued from page* 135)

resemble a futurist's conception of a Chinese dragon. Thus the Communists' proposal is just about eleven times more difficult to bring about than that of the black Fascists. Conceivably Congress might pause in the midst of one of its hilarious sessions and consider the question of a huge reservation for Negroes in West Texas or Southern Utah, but no one except a marijuana addict or a Communist could envision eleven states being butchered to make an Ethiopian holiday.

The Forty-Ninth Staters argue that such a Negro state is necessary because of the ills suffered by Negroes. They assume, of course, that there would be no ills in a Negro state. While they contend that Negroes would not be forced to dwell in their state unless they desired, it is difficult to imagine Congress setting aside such a reservation and then making residence therein optional. So if we fix the population density in the phantom state at fifty per square mile (that of the United States if forty-one), we should need a territory of only 240,000 square miles, or almost the size of Texas. This would only be 153,600,000 acres. If the land was arable, it would cost at least $20 an acre, which would amount to the insignificant sum of $2,072,000,000. Nor is it unfair to suppose that there would be some sort of buildings, railroads and whatnot on this land, which would send the cost up a little perhaps to some such tidy sum as $5,000,000,000. Inasmuch as Congress is balking over voting that much to President Roosevelt to relieve the unemployed of the entire United States, we can rest assured that it would gladly and speedily take this sum out of the treasury for the relief of the Negroes, whether or not there was anything left. The white people who made way for the Negroes would have to be recompensed, to say nothing of having to move.

The Communist shamans start off with the assumption that inasmuch as the Negroes are largely grouped in a Black Belt stretching from Virginia to Texas, are landless agricultural workers, are of sable hue, are discriminated against, exploited and disfranchised, and, in addition, are all English-speaking, they constitute a nation apart from the whites. It is beside the point, one supposes, that the bulk of the whites are also landless agricultural workers, are exploited and partially disfranchised and likewise speak English. It is argued that the Negroes, being in the majority in this dragon-shaped territory, should have the right to determine their own destiny. But the Red romanticists hasten to assert that the white proletarians living in this land of Promise will lose none of their rights. Once the state is established, the Negroes therein are to determine whether or not they shall remain federated to the United States or secede. It is held that the Negroes and whites cannot be united, in accordance with the Communist ideal, until the Negroes achieve an autonomous state, or possess the right to have such a state. For some reason or other this proposal is construed to be revolutionary in the radical sense and in no sense contradictory to workingclass internationalism which Moscow advocated before Stalin scuttled the Communist internationale and embarked on an ambitious program of Red Fascism.

Not Revolutionary Idea

This separate state proposal is neither unique nor revolutionary. Our Indians have had separate territories for decades, much to their disadvantage, as any Indian will attest. In many instances, because of aridity and erosion of the land, their reservations have become unproductive and incapable of supporting a growing population. The same thing is true in South Africa where the natives, constituting three-fourths of the population have been shoved off into reservations comprising less than one-fourth of the land, and the worst land at that. Inasmuch as a considerable area of the agricultural area in the Black Belt has or may become unproductive, what will the Negroes in this future state do when they are unable to make a living in their territory for this reason or because of increasing numbers?

Such a state would have two senators in Washington and not less than twenty-five representatives. A considerable representation, if one assumes that this territory will be admitted as a state without emasculating the federal Constitution to say nothing of causing another Civil War far worse than the last one. Such an arrangement would (1) increase the southern white representation in the senate inasmuch as new states would have to be created out of the odds and ends left after carving out the dragon-shaped Black Belt, and (2) decrease the white South's congressional representation by one-quarter. Will the white South agree to this Ethiopian gerrymander? Will the white North agree to it? If Congress refuses now to apportion adequate educational funds for Negroes, to halt the disfranchisement of Negroes in Dixie and to prevent lynching and peonage, what reason is there to suppose that it will consent to aiding the Negroes at the expense of the whites, to say nothing of violating the federal Constitution wholesale?

Article IV: Section 1, of the Federal Constitution reads:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Suppose the white minority in the Black Belt does not desire this racial arrangement? Will they have any rights in the matter? And what of the Negroes who prefer the present political boundaries?

Section 3, Paragraph 1, of this Article IV reads:

"New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress."

Ratification by States

Is it remotely possible that the legislatures of the southern states involved will agree to this arrangement proposed by the separate state advocates? Will Congress ever agree to it? True, West Virginia was carved from Virginia during the Civil War, but Virginia had seceded from the Union.

Section 3, Paragraph 2, of this Article IV reads:

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

Congress clearly could not create such a Negro state if the states out of which it was to be carved objected. And would they object? Nor, assuming the creation of this Black State, could the United States government permit it to secede from the Union to form an autonomous state, even if the white South agreed to the separation.

Article V of the Constitution, reads:

"Amendments proposed by two-thirds of the members of both Houses or on application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the states, must be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States."

Will the legislatures of the eleven Southern states involved ratify an amendment to the Constitution permitting the carving of this political monstrosity out of their territories?

Would the five other more or less southern states vote to ratify such an amendment? Would the legislatures of the states in the North, East and West so flagrantly violate the Articles

of Confederation?

Then, there is our old friend, Article XIV, which reads:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, *or property* without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Suppose the white citizens in this State of Senegambia do not wish to turn over their plantations to the Negro share-croppers which this proposal is presumably to benefit, will the Congress stand idly by and see them dispossessed? Will it pay several billions of dollars out of the treasury to recompense these landowners in order to favor the Negroes?

Pure Fantasy

Obviously this separate state proposal is pure fantasy, or worse, pure mendacity. It is not feasible any way it is considered. It cannot be accomplished constitutionally. It cannot be accomplished by force, for Negroes, even if they wanted such an autonomous state, could scarcely succeed where the entire white South failed. Congress will never appropriate a sum exceeding the war debts for this purpose when it will not appropriate adequate sums for Negro education even as it would not recompense the slaveholders for their slaves who were freed.

Race relations in our land of the free being what they are, this separate state proposal becomes more ridiculous than the wildest ravings of Marcus Garvey. Changing the course of the Gulf Stream or establishing interstellar transportation would be simple by comparison.

Assuming that race relations do so change in time that white America is willing to approve such a major political operation, what then would be the reason for doing it? People who are unwilling to grant the Negro the rights and privileges of citizenship legally his, will surely not turn over to him gratis good farmland, railroads, highways, buildings and residences now owned or occupied by white people and worth billions of dollars. And assuming such a phenomenal shift in public opinion, would not white America more willingly abolish all discrimination and segregation based on color throughout the Republic?

The Forty-Ninth Staters declare their willingness to serve a probationary period as a Territory before becoming a State, but the inhabitants of a Territory have no representatives in Congress, thus the Negro would wield less influence at Washington than he does now. And the Territory might never become a state. Territories are ruled by the Department of the Interior, the governors being appointed by the President. Suppose the President appointed a Bilbo or a Huey Long to head the Negro Territory. What could Negroes therein do about it? The fact that the Negro territory had a population of 12,000,000 would not guarantee Statehood. Porto Rico and Hawaii both have more population than several of the States, yet they remain Territories.

Unnecessary in Communist Society

The corollary of the Negro State is the White State. If white citizens are to be barred from the State of Senegambia, are not black citizens then to be barred from the other forty-eight States? Negroes accustomed to steam-heated apartments, porcelain bathtubs, automatic elevators and rapid transportation conceivably might not thrill with joy at the prospect of exile to the Llano Estacado. For all of the lodestones, goofer dust and conjure bags in Aframerica could not influence Congress to give Negroes a fertile and settled territory.

Suppose a few light-years hence American capitalism is overthrown and, with an Earl Browder in the White House, a James Ford banging the gavel in the Senate, and a Ben Davis presiding over the U. S. Supreme Court, the elected representatives of the triumphant proletariat bossed the country from the Capitol. The Black Belt State they now pretend to envisage could then become a reality. But would it then be necessary, what with all racial inequalities erased by the demise of the Profit System and black and white proletarians together lynching bond brokers and chanting the Internationale? Would not such segregation be a reactionary step incompatible with the slogan, "Black and White, Unite and Fight"? Since when has solidarity become synonymous with segregation? Are we to have a Dictatorship of the Proletariat only to further wholesale jim-crowism?

Granting that race prejudice with its by-products is perpetuated by Capitalism and that the Black Belt is itself the creature of capitalist economy, will not both the Black Belt and race prejudice vanish in the Workers' Republic where all toilers are free citizens possessing the right to live where they choose? Otherwise what hope is there for Negroes under Communism?

Pictures of Graduates

Material for the annual education number must reach THE CRISIS by July 1.

What Chance Freedom

(*Continued from page* 137)

nizes businesses that *will not* employ Negroes, when he can patronize businesses that do. In doing so, he evinces a total absence of the knowledge of the "first law of nature"—self-preservation.

Returning to a consideration of the physical state, let us do so by way of observing some of the spontaneous objections to a state controlled by Negroes, dealing with its constitutionality, location, occupation by Negroes, availability of an area, justification of government approval, and the reaction against those Negroes who would not go to the 49th State.

The Constitution of the United States, Article IV, Section 3, provides for the establishment of new states; so, there is no need to despair of its possibility. Where the 49th State would be located and how the Negro would come into possession of it present problems of great magnitude, but they are, by no means, insurmountable. The Tennessee Valley Authority, in its plan of social betterment, embraces nearly a hundred counties in seven states, with more than a thousand cities, towns and villages in forty thousand square miles, and a population of 2,240,000 people. This is an example of a big transformation that is taking place, with the sponsorship of the Federal Government, without any dislocation of the normal life of the country.

There is no scarcity of desirable land in the United States. There are fifteen states, with a combined area of more than 1,600,000 square miles, the density of population of no one of which is as much as twenty-five persons per square mile. Surely, no informed person will doubt that the subsistence possibilities of the land area of this country is a very long way from the point of diminishing returns.

The Negro has demonstrated remarkable readiness to go anywhere that offers prospects of freedom and opportunity. Even before the depression, hundreds of thousands left the South, without any organized effort or any place bidding them welcome. The Negro population of Georgia in 1920 was 1,206,365; with the normal increase by births, that population in 1930 would have been 1,371,154; but instead it was only 1,071,121, an actual decrease of over 135,000 or a potential loss for Georgia of over 300,000 Negroes in ten years. The Garvey movement also proved that the Negro will go places.

U. S. Should Buy Land

There are many reasons why the

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Crawford

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mond Nokes until January 10, 1932: two days before the night of the murder.

Monday night, January 11, Crawford and Charlie Johnson slept in a vacant house outside of Leesburg. Tuesday, January 12, they reached Middleburg and went on to the colored settlement on the outskirts of town where Bertie lived. Crawford sent a note for food to Bertie by Charlie Johnson while he waited around a fire in a nearby grove of trees. At least two Negro witnesses who knew Crawford well saw him around the fire in the grove that afternoon.

In the early hours of the next morning, January 13, Mrs. Ilsley and her maid were murdered. The house was not ransacked, only a few minor articles were stolen. No fingerprints were found. Crawford's story of the murder, as it appeared in the Boston confession, was that Charlie Johnson had gone in to rob while he watched on the outside. He had heard a noise on the inside, and had gone in to discover Johnson had killed the women. Johnson said they had grabbed him. After that their chief thought was to escape. Crawford picked up Mrs. Ilsley's car keys off a table, got the Ford out of the garage, and they drove for town. The explanation of the lack of fingerprints according to a later statement from Crawford was that Johnson had on a pair of cheap cotton gloves.

The Trial

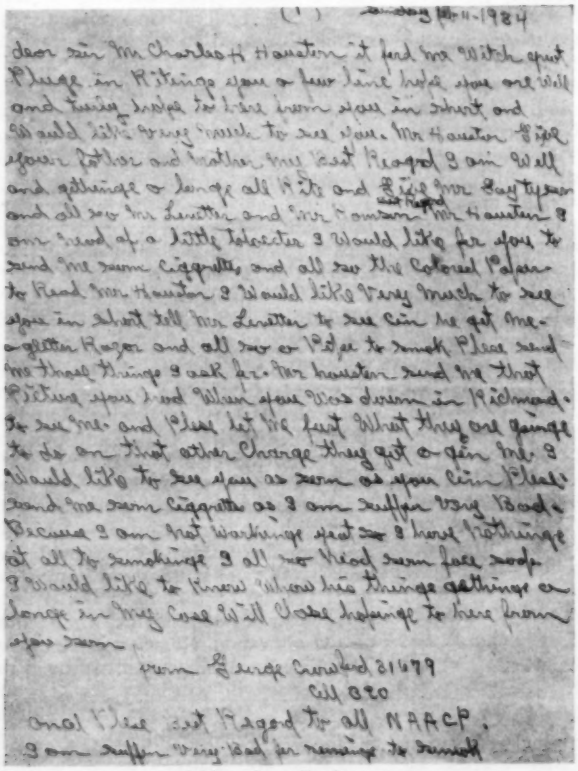
When Crawford was brought into court, counsel moved to quash the indictments against him on the ground that Negroes had been unconstitutionally excluded from the grand jury. Subsequently a motion was filed to quash the petit or trial jury panel on the same ground of unconstitutional exclusion. Evidence was taken on both motions, and even the worst enemies of the N.A.A.C.P. concede that counsel built up a perfect case of unconstitutional discrimination, and proved by placing nearly a score of Negro witnesses on the stand that Negroes in the county were fully equal to the whites in qualification for jury service.

After that the trial. Since they knew the Boston alibi was false, counsel could not use it. They were then faced with the question whether to put Crawford on the stand as a witness in his own behalf. They explained to Crawford that if he could go on the stand and establish he had nothing to do with the crime he would set himself free; but on the other hand if he were guilty, he would have to risk a merciless cross-examination because the Commonwealth attorney had declared his intention to examine on every detail if it took a whole day. After full explanation and considering the matter overnight, Crawford gave counsel a signed statement that he did not want to testify.

Crawford's decision not to testify, plus the breakdown of the Boston alibi, left counsel without any substantial evidence. They developed from the prosecution witnesses that Crawford was a peaceable character. Mrs. Ilsley's brother testified that his sister had no fear of violence from Crawford. The case went to the jury after strong pleas for mercy by counsel. That Crawford would be convicted was certain. Most of the persons in the courtroom felt that the jury would bring in a death verdict; but to their surprise the jury fixed the punishment at life imprisonment.

The verdict of life imprisonment was reached largely on counsel's plea that it was not Crawford who struck the blow; and that if the state ever hoped to catch and punish the man who did the actual killing it would have to keep Crawford alive, because he was the only one who could actually identify the other man. A parade of witnesses had identified Crawford from his striking physical peculiarities; but they could only give vague, general descriptions of Johnson.

(*Continued on page* 151)

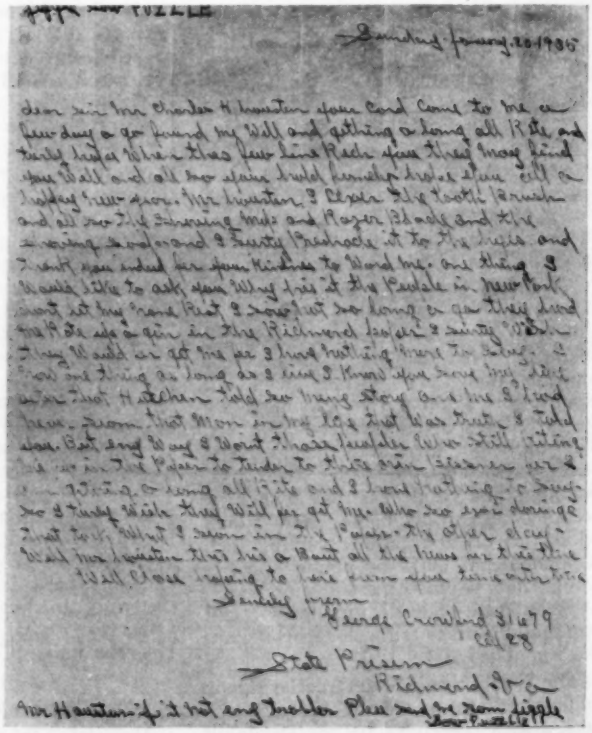


dear sir Mr Charles H Houston if you find me Witch you Please in Pittsburg open a few line let me know and will and turn judge to free from open in court and would like very much to see you. Mr Houston I got open letter and mother was sent Regard I am Well and getting a long all right and Fine from Everybody and all are Mr Lawyer and Mr Houston Mr Houston I am tired of a little tobacco I would like for you to send me some cigarette and all are the Colored Papers to Read Mr Houston I would like very much to see you in court tell Mr Lawyer to see Can he get me a gitter Razor and all are of Paper to smoke Please send me these things I ask for. Mr houston send me that Picture you had When you was down in Richmond. to see me and Please let me first What they are going to do on that other Charge they got open me I would like to see you as soon as you can Please send me some cigarette as I am suffer very Bad. Because I am not working not me I have nothing at all to smoking I all no Head some face soap I would like to know when this things gathings or Songs in my Case Will Close helping to here from you soon

from Jurge Crawford 31679
Cell B20

and Please set Regard to all NAACP.
I am suffer very Bad for running to smoke

Asking about Buckner case



Sunday January 26 1930

dear sir Mr Charles H houston open Card Come to me on few day a go found me Well and getting a long all right and thirty Judge Nine Days few line Rich open three Days find you Well and all are doing Fine Judge close all in looking over upon Mr houston I Clean the teeth brush and all are Fine Sunning Inks and Paper Books and the writing Board and I Thirty Postcards it to Pay Visits and I sent you indeed for your Kindness to Send me one thing I would like to ask you Why is it the People in New York don't let my name Rest I now but so long as you Keep my name in Mouth Rather Told me many story one me I find here from that Man in my life I find that Man Fine I Told you. But any Way I Want Those Peoples Who still living in New York Paper to Under to Rite some Letters on it Thing a long all right and I have nothing to Sing so I Think this Time they Will for get me Who are not doing Just to Tell what I mean in the Paper Any other News Wish Mr houston that his a Part all the News in this Time Will Close waiting to here from you Time to Time

Sunday morn
Jurge Crawford 31679
Cell B8
State Prison
Richmond Va

Mr Houston if it not any Trouble Please send me some Tiggle

"I would like to ask you why is it the people in New York don't let my name rest!"

St. Louis Welcomes N.A.A.C.P. Conference

By R. P. Watts
Secretary, St. Louis Branch

THE 114,000 Negroes of Greater St. Louis open their arms in welcome to the 26th annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, June 25-30. Kinloch, St. Charles, Webster Groves and East St. Louis with St. Louis are laying their plans to make this a most pleasantly profitable session.

Situated at the focal point of highways, equi-distant from the extremes of the country from which delegates will come, the motorists as well as those who still travel by train will view with pleasure a trip to St. Louis in June. At this time of the year moderate weather invites to every outdoor activity—tennis, rowing, golf, swimming, baseball, and horseback riding—each of which is sponsored by the department of Municipal Recreation. One, perhaps, may desire a boat ride down the Mississippi under the starlit skies.

A tour of the dozen public libraries may appeal to some, while the music lover, along with 10,000 companions, views an opera in one of the largest municipal open-air theaters in the country, situated in the third largest park in the world, Forest Park. Seventeen Negro schools challenge the attention of those interested in this phase of sight-seeing. Among these institutions is the Vashon high school, one of the largest and most modernly equipped of its kind, with a vast auditorium seating 1,552 persons. Then, one may go to two courts presided over by Negro justices, constables, clerks, and messengers; courts into which more white than Negro clients bring their cases for adjustment. In addition, there are fire companies completely officered by Negroes, as well as colored policemen and detectives.

For those who like historical pilgrimages there is the Old Court House in which Dred Scott waged an unavailing fight to be a free man. The chains to which black slaves once were shackled still clank grimly after 70 years and awaken the echoes of this generation's old building. Across the Mississippi at Alton is a memorial sacred to Elizah Lovejoy, abolitionist, while Brooklyn, Illinois, is one of the few towns in the country owned and officered completely by Negroes.

For the inspection of those interested in business, there are hundreds, of enterprises representing well over one million dollars. The spiritually inclined will find solace in the hundreds of churches of every denomination, at the Y.M.C.A. and at the Y.W.C.A. The latter two organizations sponsor community centers in addition to their other activities. Add to all these features the very large number of homes, hotels, and restaurants which will minister to the comfort of delegates and visitors, and the reason why St. Louis is known as "The Perfect Convention City" becomes evident.

Such is the city which throws open its doors to the 26th Annual Conference and which will spare no effort to entertain delegates and visitors in the style befitting distinguished guests.

DR. JAMES S. RUSSELL

ONE of the most charming personalities in America and one of the most useful and devoted servants of his race and church was lost when Dr. James Solomon Russell, principal emeritus of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia, died early on the morning of March 28, 1935. Dr. Russell, born into slavery at Palmer's Springs, Va., on December 20, 1857, worked his way through Hampton Institute, was the first student at the Bishop Payne divinity school, Petersburg, Va., entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal church in 1882, and founded St. Paul in 1882. For 42 years he was archdeacon of the Southern Diocese of Virginia and also was a member of the national council of his church. The Theological Seminary of Virginia, at Alexandria, honored him with the degree of doctor of divinity; the Harmon Foundation gave him its gold medal and $400 honorarium, Monrovia College, Liberia, made him a doctor of laws, and the Republic of Liberia, elected him a "Knight Commander of the Humane Order of African Redemption." Dr. Russell was also the first Negro elected a bishop in the Episcopal church, an office which he declined in 1917 in order to remain with the school which he had founded, and which is now the largest educational institution for Negroes under the Episcopal church. He was succeeded by his son, the Reverend J. Alvin Russell, A.M., in 1929. Dr. Russell was buried on March 30, with three bishops and 40 priests, of both races officiating.

Crawford

(*Continued from page* 150)

Crawford alone had been with Charlie Johnson long enough and under such circumstances that Charlie Johnson's features were indelibly etched in his memory.

Crawford Refuses to Appeal

After the conviction in the Ilsley case the question was whether to appeal. The association had two choices: either to appeal the case and take a chance on Crawford getting the death sentence in case of another trial; or to drop the jury issue where it was in that case for the time being and save Crawford's life. In this connection it should be remembered that the association was not dealing with or compromising an innocent man. It had a man who by his own statement and all the discoverable facts had unquestionably been involved in the crime. There was, of course, the possibility that if on reversal the appellate court should rule out the confession, the commonwealth would have to set Crawford free for lack of evidence; but it was a gambler's chance with Crawford's neck at stake. All this was explained to Crawford within three days after the jury's verdict, and again after fully considering the matter Crawford gave counsel written instructions December 19, 1933, not to appeal the Ilsley case, if the Commonwealth would accept a plea of guilty and give him life in the Buckner case.

If the association had induced Crawford to appeal the Ilsley case and obtained a reversal, and then Crawford had been convicted and sentenced to death on the second trial, one group of persons would have criticized the association for using Crawford as a human guinea pig, just to advance the public question of the right of Negroes to jury service. Likewise the association well knew that by dropping the appeal and saving Crawford's neck in the Buckner case, another group of critics would call the association weak and cowardly. The choice, since Crawford was guilty, was not to use him as a test case at the risk of his neck; against his wishes. It bears repeating that if Crawford had been an innocent man, there would have been no choice except to fight the case through

(*Continued on page* 156)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Congress May Probe Negro Under New Deal

The Association is attempting to get a congressional committee to investigate the general situation of the Negro under all phases of the New Deal program. A great deal of material has been collected in the last two years and much complaint has been made of the plight of the Negro, but no official public survey and recording of testimony has taken place. It is hoped that if this probe can be brought about, it will supply the public with official information and will provide a basis for corrective measures by the government. It is hoped to secure the investigation sometime during May.

Watch Work Relief

With the final passage of President Roosevelt's $4,880,000,000 work relief measure, branches of the Association and other groups are urged to be on the alert in their communities to see that the allocation of projects and jobs is made without discrimination against colored people. A great many increases in projects which are now being carried on are scheduled. It is proposed to double the enrollment in the CCC. Particular pressure should be brought to bear to see that young colored men are enrolled in the CCC and that a corresponding number of the administrative jobs are given colored people. It is proposed to enlarge many white collar projects and in every area colored people should seek a fair share of these jobs. On the construction projects, of which there will be hundreds of millions of dollars worth, the Negro mechanics and laborers should have the aid of all organized groups in getting a share.

New Mississippi Branch

A charter has been voted to a new branch just organized in Meridian, Mississippi, with 126 charter members. This branch is the first full-fledged, active unit in the state of Mississippi in several years. For many years the Association has had a branch at Jackson, but the Jackson branch has become inactive and has only a few of the old workers and officers who occasionally take a hand in Association problems as individuals. There is another branch, also inactive, in Panola county. It is hoped that the organization of the Meridian branch will stimulate further growth of the Association in the state of Mississippi. Officers of the branch are shown in a picture in another column. The Rev. Roy L. Young is president. Other members of the executive committee are B. Washington Coates, C. T. Butler, Miss Emma B. Ivy, L. F. Brooks, L. E. Johnson, James W. Hunter, E. F. Young, Miss Lillie Emmerson, E. A. Mays, Professor T. J. Harris, M. A. Walker, and W. C. Baity.

Branch News

The **Akron, Ohio,** branch held an anti-lynching mass meeting recently.

Mrs. Ethel H. Lyle, founder of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, spoke at the March meeting of the **Philadelphia** branch on "Some Achievements of Negro Women." Several other prominent speakers have been secured for future branch meetings by Miss Susan Masseaux, chairman of the program committee. A testimonial dinner was given Dr. Charles W. Dorsey, branch president, March 20 by the Philadelphia Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Council in honor of his election as president of the National Dental Association. Preliminary plans have been made for the annual membership campaign which will be held the first week in May. The branch hopes to enroll at least 2,000 members at that time. A protest was filed by the branch with the Director of Public Safety against the actions of a traffic policeman who hurled an unprintable epithet at two small colored children who crossed the street against his semaphore. An investigation was ordered by the Department of Public Safety which resulted in the diciplining of the guilty officer. I. Maximilian Martin, secretary of the branch, addressed the forum of the Philadelphia Shelter for Homeless Men on the work of the N.A.A.C.P. on March 27. The branch is sponsoring the introduction of a Civil Rights Bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature. The bill is identical with the New York act.

The **Terre Haute, Ind.,** branch is conducting a membership drive and baby contest.

The **Beloit, Wis.,** branch had charge of the ceremonies for the dedication of the Second Methodist Episcopal church. Professor J. F. Crawford of Beloit College was the speaker.

The Reverends J. J. Evans and B. H. Hunter gave short talks at the open forum meeting of the **Davenport, Ia.,** branch March 17.

Bishop John A. Gregg, one of the national

Officers of Meridian, Miss., branch: Seated, C. T. Butler, sr., secretary. Left to right: Miss Dorothy Harris, assistant secretary; Mrs. Louise Lawrence Webb, second vice-president; Rev. Roy L. Young, president; Rev. B. Washington Coates, first vice-president; Miss Emma B. Ivy, treasurer

vice-presidents of the N.A.A.C.P. and Dr. C. E. Draper of the Ministerial Alliance of Kansas City, Kan., were the principal speakers at the **Kansas City, Kan.**, branch meeting March 1.

Leroy Williams was reelected president of the **Providence, R. I.**, branch of the association at the annual meeting in Newport March 13. Other officers are:

William E. Thomas, vice-president; Miss Frances King, recording secretary; Miss Jennie A. Bailey, financial secretary; Leonard Faison, treasurer. Executive Board: Mrs. S. P. Johnson, chairman; James H. Burney, Mrs. Sarah J. Tolbert, William W. Tolbert, S. M. Jackson, Mrs. De Angelo, Richard W. King, Mrs. M. R. Jeffries, Matthew Wallace. Amusement committee: Matthew Wallace, Mrs. Armstead Hurley and Mrs. W. Wilmer.

The annual spring membership campaign of the **District of Columbia** branch was opened March 24 with a program at Lincoln Temple Congregational church at which the Reverend Howard Thurman of the Howard University School of Religion was the principal speaker. Those directing the drive are: Edward P. Lovett, chairman; Mrs. Virginia R. McGuire, president of the branch; A. S. Pinkett, secretary of the branch; E. H. Daniel, Mrs. Betty Francis and the Reverend R. A. Fairly.

Mrs. Helen S. MacPherson, chief juvenile officer of Hartford, was the speaker before the **Hartford, Conn.**, branch at its meeting March 12.

The campaign of the **Topeka, Kan.**, branch closed March 20 with a net gain of 104 new members.

The **Savannah, Ga.**, branch closed its membership drive March 15.

Abbie Mitchell, noted soprano, was presented in a benefit recital Sunday, March 24 by the **Chicago, Ill.**, branch.

The **Charleston, W. Va.**, branch held a program under the auspices of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity March 12 with William Spiller as the principal speaker. On March 31 the branch held a meeting at Laing and the program was under the auspices of the woman's auxiliary.

Mrs. Florence Aubeck, secretary of the citizens' panel of the Home Relief Bureau was the principal speaker at the **Jamaica, N. Y.**, branch in March.

The **Ames, Ia.**, branch presented Dean Pickens in a lecture March 21.

Judge Lee N. Murlin was the speaker at the **Toledo, O.**, branch, March 31. He spoke on the subject, "How the Conduct of the Courts Affects the Average Citizen."

Martin Hayes of New Orleans university was elected president of the newly organized Youth Division of the **New Orleans** branch March 19. Other officers elected were Raymond Floyd, Xavier university, and Homer McEwin, Straight college, vice-presidents; Zelda Brown, Straight college, recording secretary, Katherine Walker, Xavier university, assistant corresponding secretary; Herbert D. Webb, New Orleans university, treasurer, and Leslie Collins, Erline Sanders, Archie LeCense, Elsie Lewins, Bernice Seraile, Thadeus Aubry, Conly Sarter, William Banks and Benjamin Hayes, executive committee.

The board of education of **El Paso, Tex.**, has promised to consider the request of the educational committee of the El Paso branch for increased salaries for Douglass high school teachers.

The **Newton, Kans.**, branch began its membership campaign March 29 with a forum meeting at the C.M.E. church. S. Ridley is president and D. E. Brown secretary.

Mrs. C. W. Brooks was elected president of the newly organized Woman's Auxiliary of the **Birmingham, Ala.**, branch at the close of the campaign there by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin. Other officers are Mrs. S. J. Jordan, vice-president; Mrs. Jesse Jones, secretary, and Mrs. Mabel Neely, treasurer. The executive committee includes Mrs. H. C. Bryant, chairman; Miss Sibyl Moses, Mrs. L. L. Chambliss, Mrs. E. F. Durr, Mrs. W. J. Moore, Mrs. E. L. Wheaton, Mrs. M. J. Gaines, Mrs. A. M. McAlpine and Miss Alma Bohannon. Mrs. T. L. Bright was elected chairman of the finance committee and Mrs. M. J. Gaines, chairman of the membership committee.

Lawyers acting for the **Chicago, Ill.**, branch won victory for their suit against the Safeway Bus Lines for its discrimination against Miss Callie Stevens of Chicago in restricting her to a seat over the wheels. She was awarded $60 and costs. Attorneys William H. Temple and Irvin C. Mollison handled the case. The branch has several other cases of this nature pending in the courts and has received over 50 complaints of discrimination on buses in and out of Chicago.

The fourth annual state oratorical contest in New Jersey will be held May 31. The theme of the orations will be: "The Struggle of the Negro in American Life." The first prize will be a gold medal and $25, the second prize a silver medal and $10 and the third prize a bronze medal and $5. Two bronze medals will be given for honorable mention and a silver loving cup to the branch with the largest delegation in attendance. It is expected that Governor Harold Hoffman will be guest of honor. The contest is in charge of Dr. Clement De Freitas, 423 West Fourth Street, Plainfield, N. J., with whom entry blanks must be filed on or before May 15.

The **Lincoln University** (Pa.) branch has been especially active in supporting the Costigan-Wagner bill and in this has had the encouragement and support of the faculty. Letters and telegrams have been sent to the President, Senators, Representatives, to the State Legislature and to others. Petitions have been circulated and sent to Washington. The branch has just held a membership drive and is proceeding under a new set of officers.

Miss Edna Morgan, a student at Curtis high school in Staten Island, N. Y., won the annual oratorical contest sponsored by the **Staten Island, N. Y.**, branch March 29 and supervised by the Woman's Auxiliary. Her topic was "Segregation and Discrimination." She will represent the Staten Island in the metropolitan district contest to be held May 3. Miss Thelma Coleman was second, Miss Ruth Oliver third, with honorable mention to Miss Lena Butts and Miss Margaret Snyder. Other contestants were Haywood Devens, Oscar Butler, Jeanette Lamb and Rudolph West. Prizes were donated by Bernard Carter, H. W. Depuy, William A. Morris, Eugene Everett and the Brighton Dairy.

The **Alameda County, Calif.**, branch presented a medal of achievement to Sargeant Claud Johnson, artist and sculptor of Berkeley, at an appropriate program March 17. Mr. Johnson took first prize at the recent 55th annual exhibition of the San Francisco Art Association with a piece of art sculpture of a Negro woman entitled "Forever Free."

Southern Front

(*Continued from page* 140)

surance companies urged their agency and office forces to join with the result that the Douglas Industrial Life Insurance, Liberty Industrial Life Insurance, Louisiana Industrial Life Insurance, Unity Industrial Life Insurance, Universal Industrial Life Insurance, Standard Industrial Life Insurance, Victory Industrial Life Insurance, and the People's Industrial Life Insurance companies became 100% members of the N.A.A.C.P. as did the employees of Geddes and Moss and other undertaking establishments and burial associations.

Campaign for Registration

The New Orleans branch is assisting and encouraging colored citizens to register to vote by having sample registration application blanks printed by the thousands. The local office daily assists many persons to fill out these blanks properly, which they take with them to the registration office in the attempt to satisfy often a "fourth grade" registrar that the applicant is qualified to vote. Instance after instance was reported wherein a college graduate or a principal of a school could not satisfy the registrar as to the applicant's interpretation of parts of the Constitution of the United States. In spite of this attempt to disqualify and discourage, the branch is assisting in adding hundreds of names to the lists of those eligible to vote.

The most outstanding feature of the New Orleans campaign was the organization of a youth's division consisting of, at the initial meeting, seventy-five young college students from Xavier college, Straight college and New Orleans university. Encouragement was given them to organize by the presidents and deans of the respective colleges, each giving the opinion that the N.A.A.C.P. offers the finest medium through which American youth can learn racial tolerance and leadership.

These are only three southern branches in the central area but they give some idea of the possibilities of an unbroken first line of defense that can have its links in every city, village and hamlet in an effort to bring about the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Letters from Readers

Miss Lawrence Writes

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Please accept my sincere appreciation for the recent publication of the article entitled "Thumbs Down on Unions" written by J. Wellington Evans of this city.

I feel that the full publication of this article gave both sides of the story and revealed the whole truth and corrected a malicious misrepresentation in an article written by Miss Thyra J. Edwards under the caption of "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkins."

I am unable to understand the role which Miss Edwards has been playing. To me her position seems irreconcilable as one of our social leaders. She attacks the head of an organization that for years has been the consistent friend to the women of our race and was one of the first to open its doors to them in this particular industry and have continued to employ them since the advent of the NRA.

The International Garment Workers Union has kept its doors closed to our women for years and has been one of the arch-enemies

toward the advancement of our race in the trade field. And now, at this late hour, Miss Edwards would have us desert our friends and accept the beckoning hand of our enemy, an organization that has denied our women membership and discriminated against them on every hand.

Again I cannot reconcile her position, holding a job with the United States Housing Project of this city and at the same time espousing the cause of Soviet Russia in an address at the Coliseum March 31, before several thousand Communists, whom she addressed as comrades and pictured Russia a world utopia and likened unto it only the glory that could be found in heaven. Of America, Miss Edwards was most severe in her criticism painting a picture of darkness and despair as against the heavenly attributes of Russia.

Why would one of such intelligence as Miss Edwards try to have us see the glories of Russia and at the same time enjoy the maintaining of her body and soul from the coffers of the United States? Having received her education and training in America, I am persuaded that the leadership of Miss Edwards would have us to desert the constitution, overthrow the government and cast our destiny with "beautiful" Red Russia and such leadership at this time and for us is both unsound and unsafe. And that in her attack upon me and our firm, she like the rest of the "Reds" are seeking to destroy the best regulated industries, so as to bring about more unrest and discontentment in this country.

JENNIE E. LAWRENCE

Chicago, Ill.

Disagrees with Mr. Arbor

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—After reading in THE CRISIS, the paper of Mr. J. Edward Arbor, it occurs to me the greatest problem that the Negro has to solve is the problem of the inadequacy of thought in comprehending the enormity of the problem for which he seeks a solution. This is evidenced by the way the average self-styled leader proposes his own panacea for its solution and denounces all others who entertain different opinions from his. The Negro problem is a problem which has been developed through many centuries and will not be solved by a mathematician, however skilled he may be in his own chosen field. The real problem lies back of the backwardness of the Negro leader or preacher. The Negro is afflicted with an ancient malady or the psychology of self-destruction, which if it does not go deeper is more potent in the control of his action than his religion. The individual who is always criticizing the Negro preacher is like the man who criticized Peola in the "Imitation of Life," overlooking the primary cause, whose ignorance and prejudice hides from himself the very problem for which he seeks a solution. I believe in eternal agitation for human rights, but the thing advocated can easily become the thing fought. I have written a book which I hope Mr. Arbor will read if and when it comes off the press, but I would not dare venture the assertion that I could count on one hand the noble Negro preachers of the South of my opinion. He is fighting intolerance, but he has become intolerant to others.

The Negro, Mr. Arbor, is the victim of a caste and system forced upon him through many centuries, more binding and more merciless than the system of religious philosophy which has kept one and the same race of East Indians hopelessly divided for untold centuries. And the system under which the Negro labors is both racial and religious, though racially it is the more binding because it is so exceedingly subtle and subterranean. And to free the Negro from this religio-racial dilemma will take more than a few curt criticisms of the Negro preacher. Leaders of all shades of thought and of all different professions need to be imbued with the spirit and philosophy of Mahatma Ghandi.

Religion in its very nature is a process of binding. It binds man to his thoughts whatever those thoughts may be. And the thing that all of us needs to do, is not to free the Negro from his religion, but to free him from the traditional thoughts of inferiority, which have been the household philosophy of other races, including the Negro, for many centuries. The first step in the solution of this enormous problem is a comprehensive vision of its enormity, its past and present effects upon the Negro, and the eliminating end to which it portends.

No leader can do much more than give definition, character and expression to the prevailing consensus of opinion among any people. If he proceeds otherwise he does not become a leader, but a martyr; and, in the Negro preacher's case, undeified and unmourned. Our salvation depends upon the evolution of a method of thinking alien to present prevailing world thought which not only actuates the white man, but has also made the Negro its contented victim.

Well enough, many Negro preachers are actually puerile in thought, and need to be educated; but the need of the Negro goes further than the education of the Negro preacher. It includes an educated constituency, drilled in the philosophy of self-preservation, of the primary equality of racial capacities in the light of the equality of circumstances, and of the love of God for all men alike. This task requires Mr. Arbor, as well as the Negro preacher, to perform.

It appears to me that both Mr. Arbor and the Negro preacher in many instances are asleep; and that the only difference between the two is that Mr. Arbor is a somnambulist who indulges in irresponsible speech while his intellectual eyes escape the enormity of the problem which confronts the Negro in America today. Mr. Arbor should wake up!

REVEREND EDWARD GHOLSON

Winston-Salem, N. C.

Communist Way Out

(*Continued from page* 146)

I do not speak here merely in a theoretical way. This has been the actual experience of the Russian revolution. The granting and guaranteeing of the right of self-determination to the peoples formerly oppressed by the tsarist regime has been the cornerstone of the national policy of the Soviet Union. This has made possible unparalleled progress by the formerly oppressed peoples and a federation of Socialist nations in which none has privileges not enjoyed by others.

One can barely outline the subject in the space of so short an article. But I sincerely hope that I have at least conveyed to the reader the essentials of the Communist position. Especially do I wish it to be clear, that the Communist solution has nothing in common with the Utopian, jim-crow phantasy of a 49th State, which can only play into the hands of reactionaries. Nor can the question be placed as between the right of self-determination and "full, unsegregated status as Americans." For the right of self-determination means nothing more nor less than the most complete realization of democracy and equal rights.

New Deal

(*Continued from page* 142)

This heightening of spirit among all elements of black America and the seriousness of the crisis for them make doubly necessary the consideration of the social and economic condition of the Negro at this time. It was a realization of these conditions which gave rise to the proposal to hold a national conference on the economic status of Negroes under the New Deal at Howard University in Washington, D. C., on May 18, 19 and 20. At this conference, sponsored by the Social Science Division of Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery, a candid and intelligent survey of the social and economic condition of the Negro will be made. Unlike most conferences it will not be a talk-fest. For months nationally known economists and other technicians have been working on papers to be presented. Unlike other conferences it will not be a one-sided affair. Ample opportunity will be afforded for high government officials to present their views of the "New Deal." Others not connected with the government, including representatives of radical political parties, will also appear to present their conclusions. Not the least important phase will be the appearance on the platform of Negro workers and farmers themselves to offer their own experience under the New Deal. Out of such a conference can and will come a clear-cut analysis of the problems faced by Negroes and the nation.

* * *

BUT a word of caution ought to be expressed with regard to this significant conference. In the final analysis it cannot and does not claim to be representative of the mass opinion of Negro citizens in America. All it can claim for itself is that it will bring together on a non-representative basis well informed Negro and white technicians to discuss the momentous problem it has chosen as its topic. It can furnish a base for action for any organization which chooses to avail itself of the information developed by it. It cannot act itself.

Thus looking beyond such a conference one cannot fail to hope that it will furnish impetus to a national expression of black America demanding a tolerable solution to the economic evils which it suffers. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that public opinion may be moulded by this conference to such an extent that already existing church, civic, fraternal, professional and trade union organizations will see the necessity for concerted effort in forging a mighty arm of protest against injustice suffered by the Negro. It is not necessary that

such organizations agree on every issue. On the problem of relief of Negroes from poverty there is little room for disagreement. The important thing is that throughout America as never before Negroes awake to the need for a unity of action on vital economic problems which perplex us.

Such a hope is not lacking in foundation upon solid ground. Such an instance as the All India Congress of British India furnishes an example of what repressed groups can do to better their social and economic status. Perhaps a *"National Negro Congress"* of delegates from thousands of Negro organizations (and white organizations willing to recognize their unity of interest) will furnish a vehicle for channeling public opinion of black America. One thing is certain: the Negro may stand still but the depression will not. And unless there is concerted action of Negroes throughout the nation the next two years will bring even greater misery to the millions of underprivileged Negro toilers in the nation.

What Chance Freedom

(*Continued from page* 149)

United States should buy the area and be liberal in disposing of it to Negroes. The welfare of the United States is bound up in a solution of the problem connected with the unfair treatment of the Negro. There is a smoldering volcano under this so-called Negro problem, and to ignore it is short-sighted statesmanship. For more than three hundred years, the Negro has contributed his all in the upbuilding of his country, without reasonable security or recompense for his labors. There is a debt due the Negro and the nation's responsibility is inescapable. Furthermore, with more than a million Negro families on public relief and apparently destined to remain there for a long time, it would be a matter of economy for the Government to concentrate a large part of relief money in trying to help the Negro become self-sustaining. The amount of money that will be spent for Negro relief, over and above the sum that would be required if unemployment among Negroes were reduced to the same proportion as that of the other part of the population, will eventually run into billions.

There may be some speculation as to the attitude of the majority group of the country toward those Negroes who would not go to the 49th State. If the Negro in Mississippi did not accept separate schools, then he would have no schools in Mississippi; and his acceptance of separate schools has no over-balancing, adverse effect upon the Negro in mixed schools in Ohio, New York, Minnesota and California. If Negroes, in order to live, elect to live in a 49th State, it should have no over-balancing, adverse effect upon the Negroes who might live elsewhere.

Whatever progress the race has made, in nearly all instances, has been the result of group effort and congregation. Take Chicago as an example: with 200,000 Negroes living together on the South Side, they have been able to obtain the election of two members of the city council, four members of the state legislature, one member of the state senate, and a congressman in Washington, with many appointive offices flowing out of this concentration of political power. Suppose these 200,000 Negroes in Chicago would scatter themselves proportionately over Chicago's fifty wards, with 4,000 Negroes to each ward, what would they be able to do "integrated" into a hostile white population of sixty thousand or more? Absolutely nothing—just as the Negroes, who number about four thousand, are able to do in certain of Chicago wards now. What is true with politics is equally true in other avenues of Negro effort. What is true in Chicago is true wherever Negroes reside. Four or five million Negroes in a single state, controlled by them, would be a powerful influence for good for Negroes throughout the United States.

In conclusion, let us emphasize that we of the National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State have the highest regard for those persons, organizations and movements that have brought us to where we are. Things would have been inconceivably worse than they are without them. May no one seek to rob them of their laurels! We know that there is no royal road for us to travel. Our fundamental purpose and primary interest is to aid the millions of Negroes in America for whom there seems no hope without the help of our trained and educated men and women. These masses are worth saving and the black man and woman, who are the beneficiaries of education and training, must now become the missionaries in the work of rescue.

Finally, *the classes among us must never lose sight of the fact that the line of demarcation between those who are destitute and those who are well-to-do is so narrow that those who are well-to-do today may be destitute tomorrow!*

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Crawford

(*Continued from page* 151)

to the end. But the fact that he was guilty put another aspect to the matter.

Recently Crawford has been following the suggestion of Miss Martha Gruening and claiming he was abandoned by his counsel in the Buckner case and was compelled to plead guilty and throw himself on the mercy of the court. Miss Gruening also charges that counsel was both unduly and unusually anxious to close out the Buckner case. The facts, however, are that counsel was being pushed to close out the Buckner case by Crawford himself, as is shown by his letter of February 11, 1934.

The truth is that a few days before Crawford wrote his letter of February 11, 1934, he had been interviewed in jail by two reporters from the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. According to their feature story in their paper February 10, 1934, Crawford had expressed himself as dissatisfied with the result of the Ilsley trial. As a consequence, on February 12, 1934, when Crawford was brought to Leesburg to dispose of the Buckner case, counsel advised the court of the purported statements of Crawford in the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* and declined to take the responsibility of pleading Crawford guilty. The court then called Crawford to the bar and read him the article in the paper. Crawford denied the interview with the reporters. The court then told Crawford he was entitled to a trial, but Crawford repeated his wish to plead guilty. After careful examination to make sure the plea was voluntary, the court accepted Crawford's guilty plea and imposed a life sentence.

Back in the penitentiary Crawford wrote counsel expressing his gratitude. Even as late as January 20, 1935, he wrote counsel complaining that "the people in New York" were writing him up in the paper, and assuring counsel he knew who really saved his life.

Yet within six weeks he was writing to Miss Helen Boardman in a wholly contradictory tone.

Being advised of all facts I desire not to be called as a witness at this trial

George Crawford.

IN one sense the Crawford case might be considered as unfinished business on the association's docket. It took the case in the honest belief, based on Miss Boardman's preliminary investigation and the Boston reports, that Crawford was innocent. It thought it had an innocent defendant and was in a position to wage a finish fight to end jury discrimination in Virginia. It discovered too late it did not have an innocent defendant; and the defendant being unwilling to go on, it was compelled to leave the jury issue with the exposure of the discrimination in the trial court.

But the association is not apologizing for the Crawford case. Four young Negro lawyers set a high standard of professional skill and competence in the handling of a murder trial. The presiding judge stated from the bench that with over thirty years' experience as a trial judge he had caught a new vision of how a murder trial should be conducted. Throughout the state the circuit judges were so impressed with the conduct of the case and the demonstration of the right of Negroes to jury service the same as white citizens, that voluntarily they began in many counties to add Negroes to the jury lists, including the trial judge, upon his return to his own home county. Since the main object of carrying the case to the United States supreme court would have been to *force* Virginia to place Negroes on her juries, the Crawford case was the means of convincing Virginia of the justice of granting Negroes jury service of her own free will.

The real difference between the association and its critics, once the facts of the Crawford case are known, will be seen to lie in a difference in point of view. The association is keenly conscious of its obligation to make an unrelenting fight for Negro rights, and pledges itself to continue that fight without fear or favor.

Ethiopia

(*Continued from page* 139)

Ethiopian Ambassador at Geneva could not find a single statesman among the big powers to support his country's appeal. Even Mr. Litvinov refused to raise his voice in protest out of fear that it might offend Laval, and antagonize Mussolini. Ethiopia was therefore left to fend for herself, and negotiate directly with Mussolini who is trying to

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terrorize and intimidate the Emperor by dispatching troops to the frontiers while negotiations are taking place in Addis Ababa. However, Hailie Selassie has publicly declared that such bullying methods will not intimidate him to sacrifice his country's rights.

The Racial Aspect

Apart from the economic motives, and the necessity for fascism to find a way out of the crisis, the racial aspect looms large. It is well known that the Ethiopeans and the Japanese are the only two colored nations which have ever defeated white powers at arms. This has not been forgotten by the Italians, and for that matter, by the white race. Not without reason, the Rome correspondent of the *London Times*, in a dispatch writes, "Mussolini is not only defending the rights of Italy, but he is upholding the prestige of the white race in Africa," while Vernon Bartlett, the diplomatic editor of England's "great" liberal paper *News Chronicle* shouts that "Great Britain cannot afford to jeopardize her friendship with Italy simply in order to defend Ethiopia on the basis of abstract justice." The gentleman, however, lets the cat out the bag when he says, "if a small nation like Holland is threatened, then that is different. Ethiopia is not a civilized nation." What Mr. Bartlett means is that, Ethiopia is black, for surely this man, one of the foremost British journalists, knows that the Ethiopians were christians when his ancestors and those of his Dutch friends were running wild in the forests of the North countries. But the prize goes to a fascist paper, *Affari Esteri*, which has just published the following appeal: "It is time that the white nations of Europe should abandon their long suffering toleration towards the only African state which is still autonomous, and proceed to settle all questions connected with the Abyssinian problem. Abyssinia is a gander to the white race. The young Abyssinians are inspired with the idea of 'Africa for the Africans,' and are already combining with Japanese immigrants in the country to combat the white man's influences in Africa."

We can continue to quote many such statements, not only from the fascist press, which are to be expected, but from liberal and democratic papers, which under one form or other are trying to prove that blacks are unfit to rule themselves, and Italy will civilize them. Even the French press which is not as a rule hostile toward Negroes, has become rather chauvinistic since a young white colonial official was killed in the course of a tribal feud along the French Somaliland-Ethiopian frontier. We mention this fact only in order to show that the most liberal whites can adopt a hostile attitude towards colored peoples when it suits their purposes. About this let us have no illusions.

Ethiopian-Japanese Friendship

Much of Ethiopia's present difficulties can be traced to her friendly relations with Japan. Within recent years, the Emperor, realizing that his country is surrounded by colonies owned by England, France and Italy, all of whom would like to see Ethiopia backward, if not reduced to the status of a colony like the rest of Africa, has been trying to modernize his realm. This is no easy task, for apart from external intrigues, Haile Selassie has had to face formidable opposition from the great feudal Rasses (chiefs), as well as the dignitaries of the Coptic Church, who wield great influence. The Emperor has few reliable counsellors and every fool knows that no white nation is going to lend him capital, for a strong black state in Africa would be considered worse than bolshevism. It would inspire the blacks in other parts of the continent to do likewise, for the white man has spread the slander abroad that the Negro is biologically unfit to govern himself, which unfortunately, many so-called black intellectuals seem to believe, to judge from the cynical delight they take in ridiculing every attempt made by black men to build a modern state.

In order to find the means of carrying through his program of reform, the Emperor has given certain preferential privileges to Japanese who not only need markets for their textiles and other commodities, but lands where they can cultivate raw cotton so as to become independent of the white powers, England and America, from which Japan now buys most of her cotton lint. This is what the white man does not like. A colored nation trading with another at their expense. This is intolerable! England and France dare not interfere, for they have enough problems of their own — England in the far East, and France in Europe, to antagonize Japan; so Mussolini has been assigned the task to intervene in Ethiopia and break up the ties between herself and Japan before it is too late. But Mussolini is playing with fire. Not only will the Ethiopians, despite all his air force, make him break his teeth if he attempts to bite, but Hitler is awaiting the first opportunity to march into Austria and attack his rear.

The danger of war in Africa is great. In this hour of danger, it is the duty of every black man and woman to render the maximum moral and material support to the Ethiopian people in their single-handed struggle against Italian fascism, and a not too friendly world.

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